

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1876.

The Week.

THE Democratic Convention of this State met at Saratoga on Wednesday week in great perplexity of mind about the Governorship. Mr. Dorsheimer was Governor Tilden's candidate, but was not vigorously pushed by him, and was coldly received by the Convention as being too new a Democrat. Mr. Clarkson Potter appeared on the whole the person most in favor next to Mr. Horatio Seymour, and was commended even by Mr. John Kelly to the favor of the Convention as "an elegant gentleman"; and a charge of having advocated secession was disposed of by reading the speech in which he was said to have done it, from which it appeared that he only did it in what Mr. Kelly, who is not "an elegant gentleman," called an "hypothecated case." But the passion of the Convention and the galleries for Horatio Seymour made even the consideration of any other candidate's claims impossible. It was in vain that his friends announced that he was old and sick and would not accept; in vain he himself telegraphed a peremptory refusal; the delegates and the gallery would not be gainsaid, and he was accordingly nominated "by acclamation" in the evening, "the acclamation" being of the most frantic description. Mr. Dorsheimer was renominated for the Lieutenant-Governorship. Among the pleasing incidents of the occasion was the appearance of Tammany and Anti-Tammany—the Short-Hairs and Swallow-Tails—as a united whole, Morrissey and Kelly having become reconciled; which shows that Morrissey is not so good a man as the "Reform Republicans" tried to persuade us last year.

By the bye, what has become of that great movement got up by the *Evening Post* and the *Times* for the repeal of the Tammany Society's charter? From the way it was spoken of at the time, we were led to expect the happiest results from it both for the United States and for Humanity. We fear, like so many other noble schemes, it has miscarried, and the result is that Tammany continues its career of mischief. We observe, too, in some Republican papers, some sharp comments on the prominence and popularity in the Convention of such men as Kelly and Morrissey and Judge "Tim" Campbell, but these taunts, if much of the current political philosophy be sound, are very uncalled for. According to a favorite theory of representation—we believe even Mr. Nordhoff preaches it in his political manual for young politicians—every district is best represented by persons like the bulk of its population: old farmers by old farmers, ignorant Irish by ignorant Irishmen, thieving negroes by negro thieves, Mackerelville by "a son of Mackerelville." On this theory, surely even "the bad men" have their right to be represented by "bad men." John Morrissey and John Kelly and the esteemed and learned "Tim" Campbell represent very powerful constituencies; and these sneers at them, and the assumption that they occupy social or moral positions inferior to other American citizens, are very unbecoming, and indeed have a flavor of "caste" about them. Some of us may like being "bad men" and others being "good men," but neither should give themselves airs on account of differences of taste.

About the way in which Mr. Tilden's name was received there is a difference of opinion among the newspapers. The *Tribune* says it was received with "faint demonstrations of favor"; the *Times*, that it was received with "marked coldness"; the *Herald*, that it called forth "enthusiastic cheers"; while the *World* refrains from any report whatever on this point. That there is no great enthusiasm for Tilden, however, in the Democratic ranks there is little

doubt. He represents nothing very strongly on which the party has set its heart, and "the boys" who do most of the shouting care little for reform. It is quite certain, however, that it is only among the Independent or the doubtful Republican votes that the "charges" will do him any harm, and the only one likely to prove effective even there is that about his income-tax. The platform ratifies the Presidential nominations; adheres to the Constitutional Amendments, and denounces intimidation "in every shape"; calls for Canal reform, and protests against the late order of the Secretary of War sending troops to the South.

The nomination appears to have been aided or brought about by a barefaced fraud practised on the Convention by "a member of the Sub-Committee," in the shape of a despatch from Utica assuring the Convention that Mr. Seymour had consented to serve in case he was nominated. Of course, now that it is discovered that he never authorized such a declaration, and that he is resolute in his determination not to accept the nomination, there is much indignation in the party, and the managers have been sorely puzzled what to do. They could either order the election of another Convention or call the late one together again, or go on and vote for Seymour, sick or well, dead or alive, willing or unwilling. The *World* recommended the last-named course, but the Convention is to be called together again next week, though that can make little difference now. The public is thoroughly disgusted. The "inside history" of the Convention, which now begins to be written, declares that "the machine" was fixed for the nomination of Mr. Dorsheimer, but that his brother-in-law, Mr. Hibbard, having mentioned in his speech that he (Dorsheimer) was descended from Martin Luther, the Irish Catholics, of whom the Convention was largely composed, crossed themselves devoutly and set their teeth against him as a limb of Satan. Mr. Potter was undoubtedly the most promising and rational nomination in all ways; but rationality had hardly any more place in the body than in a corral of hungry mules.

There has as yet been no light thrown on the income-tax charge by Mr. Tilden or any of his friends, and the excitement and horror of the Republican papers over it increase, particularly as the *New York Times* has been diligent in fishing out additions to his income in 1862 and the following years, which make up a very heavy total. The only thing which bears the appearance of a defence comes from the *Albany Argus*, which in the course of a terrible fight with the "perjured *Albany Evening Journal*" ("perjurers" are in this campaign as plenty as blackberries) quotes Commissioner Lewis's decision in May, 1863, as follows:

"A merchant's return of income should cover the business of the year 1862, excluding previous years. Uncollected accounts must be estimated. Physicians and lawyers should include actual receipts for services rendered in 1862, together with the estimate of unrealized or contingent income due to that year."

This might possibly be made to cover Mr. Tilden's small returns of 1862, but, in view of the generally flourishing condition of his affairs apart from the *Terre Haute* receipts, it is difficult to see how; and it cannot possibly cover the failure to make any return at all the following years, which though it might pass as not dishonest in a private man, because the law left him the alternative, can hardly pass in a candidate for the Presidency as anything but a very ugly flaw, which at all events calls for abundant explanation. The Blaine Republicans, it is needless to say, are not entitled to call for it, the morality of that wing of the party being repulsive cant. It is easy to see the difficulty that a Presidential candidate must feel in answering charges of this kind. If he notices one, he of course runs the risk of raising a presumption that those he does not notice are unanswerable; but this is not a case of general allegation, or vague sus-

picion, or of complicated transactions. There are two apparently contradictory sworn statements of his own, relating to matters of fact, and he owes it to the public of all parties to show if he can that they do not mean what they seem to mean. Failing this, it will be absurd to talk of his election as likely to prove a reform movement, or as anything but an indication of the low moral tone of the majority of the voters. The defenses hitherto put forward in this matter by his supporters have been for the most part quibbles, for which, however, it would be unfair as yet to hold him responsible.

The Massachusetts Republican Convention, which met at Worcester on Tuesday, renominated Governor Rice, and was a model of harmony and obedience to programme. The value of its contribution to reform within the party may be judged from the fact that it was presided over by Senator Boutwell, and that Butler was put by the managers on the State Central Committee—an act the announcement of which was greeted with great applause, and which, if Butler had not already ensured his own election to Congress, would suffice to elect him. To show what solemn trifling a nominating Convention, under the present system, can be guilty of, we append one of the planks of the Worcester platform:

"We reiterate the declaration of a year ago that the Republican party of Massachusetts will support no man for office whose personal character is not an absolute guarantee of his fidelity to every public trust; and, while we stand pledged to civil-service reform, a return to a specie basis, and the equal rights of all American citizens, we demand as a matter of consistency the nomination of only those candidates who will be true to the fulfilment of that pledge."

The Connecticut Republicans have renominated the State officers of last year, and have again distinguished themselves by a tolerably concise and straightforward platform, which, however, opens a little darkly with an expression of devotion to the Constitution of the United States, to the State of Connecticut, and "to the inspirations in which the party was born"—whatever that may mean; castigates the Democratic politicians who "originated theories of State sovereignty"; calls for civil-service reform on the Hayes plan, and for resumption in 1879 according to the law of 1875, and again castigates the Democrats; declares for generosity and good-will to the South, but protests against giving office to "ex-rebels"; calls for protection for everybody, and expresses high approval of law, liberty, improvements, progress, the elevation and comfort of the people, and national honor, and of economy and wisdom in legislation; again castigates the Democrats for evasion, dishonesty, and deception, corruption and insults to Union soldiers; castigates them again for nominating such a bad man for the Presidency; cordially endorses Hayes and Wheeler, and compliments President Grant for his "patriotic services." This restriction of the eulogy of late to his "patriotic services" is very judicious. The principal speech was delivered by Mr. Jewell; it said a good word for the Resumption Act, was moderate and sensible with regard to the South, and strong and clear with regard to civil-service reform.

The New Jersey Republicans have also had their convention, and adopted the usual platform, which was, however, particularly strong on civil-service reform. The meeting in the evening was addressed by Senator Frelinghuysen, who gave Mr. Robeson a certificate of honesty, and pretended that he had not been injured by the Democratic investigations of him—which is not worthy of Mr. Frelinghuysen—and maintained that the loss by dishonesty under Van Buren, the Democratic rascal, was far greater than under General Grant. The best speech was by General Woodford, who was both able and sensible with regard to the South, and gave civil-service reform the brunt of his remarks. There is something pathetic in the efforts of the Republicans to find charges of fraud on

the Government against the Democrats. Recently, they have got some faint encouragement out of the rediscovery of some improper investments of Government and Smithsonian funds in bad State and other bonds in Buchanan's day, and of frauds in the transfer of the Cherokee lands about 1838, and they say, in producing them, with a faint smile, "The same old party, you know." It is not much, and it was a generation ago, but it is something. Then they have recently detected a Democrat, and a Southerner too, cheating the Government out of \$800 worth of bricks, and the *Times* shows the wretch up, in large headlines, as a "Specimen Southern Democrat." This is not quite as bad as the Freedmen's Bank swindle; but then, how bad it is! Why will Southern Democrats commit these frauds in bricks? Why don't they imitate the Southern Republicans, live by honest toil, and read their Bibles and the *Congressional Record* in moments of relaxation? Then, too, it is alleged that the Pennsylvania Molly Maguires are Democrats, and we are given to understand that all Democrats would like to be Molly Maguires if they could only spare the time to be out nights. In fact, it is amazing to see how much wickedness Satan has put into this one party; but it is more amazing that they can stay so bad, year after year, in the same community with so good a body of men as the Republicans. How is it that the example of the latter has not more effect? that the constant spectacle of pure living under their very noses does not tell on the scoundrels?

Other political topics of the week have been the elections in Arkansas and Vermont, which went precisely as they were expected to go both now and in November, and Attorney-General Taft's election-circular to United-States Marshals. The sole interest attaching to the contest in Vermont was the relative size of the Republican majority, which appears to be, at this writing, considerably in excess of the "off-year" majorities, and nearly equal to that which Grant secured in 1872. The Attorney-General's circular embodies well-considered and temperate instructions from which political coloring has been carefully excluded, and to which nobody can object. The marshals are directed to take measures against apprehended or possible force and violence, in language too pointed to embrace constructive "intimidation." The Attorney-General informs them that he issues these instructions not only in conformity to the statutes, but upon due consideration also of "recent important judgments given by the Supreme Court of the United States upon acts of Congress which regulate this general topic." This is a refreshing contrast to the spirit in which his predecessor, Mr. Williams, of blessed memory, would have performed the same duty.

The attention of Wall Street was divided during the week between the operations of the syndicate, to whom the Treasury entrusted the negotiation of the new $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds, and the speculation at the Stock Exchange. Books were opened here and in London on Thursday, the 31st ult., for the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonds, and remained open until four o'clock the following Monday. The subscriptions to the loan were larger in this country than had been expected, and in London they came up to expectations. The Treasury has issued a call for \$10,000,000 5.20 6 per cent. bonds. The speculation at the Stock Exchange was led by the attack on the securities of the coal railroads, but before the week closed extended to other securities, which, by every process of reasoning, should be benefited rather than injured by the breaking-up of the coal monopoly and the decline in the price of coal. The decline in New Jersey Central stock, which has fallen more than any other, amounted to $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and of this only 3 per cent. was recovered. The bonds of the company and the securities guaranteed by the New Jersey Central also suffered a large decline. At one time an investors' panic was threatened, but the week closed with indications of a more settled feeling, although in the case of the

New Jersey Central its credit has been so injured that if necessary for it to borrow it may be embarrassed. The reported success of the syndicate led to a decline in the 5 and 6 per cent. bonds of the Government, from the fear that these bonds will be rapidly called in and replaced with 4½ or 4 per cents. The price of gold was also depressed at one time to 109¼. Outside of Wall Street the indications of an improvement in general trade continue to accumulate, and it is now generally admitted that a permanent recovery has begun. The gold value of the United States legal-tender note has ranged during the week between 90¾ (\$0.9080) and 91½ (\$0.9153) cents. The silver market has been steady and dull, and the dollar of our fathers, if in existence, would have ruled between 87½ and 87 cents.

The deposition of the Sultan Murad, which has been expected daily almost ever since his accession, has taken place, and his younger brother, Hamed, has been put in his place. The misfortune which has overtaken the two last occupants of the imperial throne was also impending over their predecessor during the Crimean war. Abdul Medjid was well known to have been suffering more or less during the whole of his reign from the nervous prostration which finally hastened his death, and Abdul Aziz undoubtedly fell a victim to the same malady. If anything could prove a warning to the Turks, this exhaustion of the imperial family would do so, and they would put monogamy and monogamous habits among the proposed constitutional reforms. An empire the members of whose ruling family live like cattle can hardly in our day hope for salvation, particularly when the ruling family is a sacred race. The breakdown of the line shows what would have happened long ago if Turkey had been in the hands of an aristocracy of birth. The only "old family" in the country is that of the Sultan. The high officers of state come up in every generation from the ranks of the people, where monogamy and comparative purity are the rule, and there is consequently a tolerably hardy breed of men available for the conduct of the administration. That the Sultan's line has not sooner become extinct is due to the intermarriage with the Circassian peasant women, but it is plain that this is not going to save it; and it is high time for the reformers to lay hands on the harem and extinguish that most beastly institution. Its evil influence on the native princes in India is kept down by the prompt dethronement by the British Government of any one who, after fair warning, shows signs of its effects on character or physique; and it is hard to see why, if the Powers are going to interfere in Turkey at all, they should not take hold of the greatest obstacle to the assimilation of Turkish administration to that of European countries—the polygamy of the official class. The training of youth for the cares of a civilized monarchical state is not possible under such a system.

The lines at Alexinatz seem to have been forced on the position turned—it makes little difference which—in spite of a gallant though by no means obstinate defence. The Servians are badly officered, and the volunteers, who have been arriving in great numbers from Russia, have arrived too late. General Tcherniaieff and some of the Servian politicians seem to have been disposed to continue the contest, in the belief that the great Powers would in any event prevent the infliction by Turkey of any very heavy penalty on Servia; but the Powers are not prepared to stand any such nonsense as this, and the latest news from Constantinople is that they have already proposed mediation to the Porte, and we shall probably hear before this paper appears of an armistice. But there is little likelihood that peace will be concluded without a powerful curb being put on the Turks. The Bulgarian atrocities have completely turned the tide of public feeling in England and overcome the fear and jealousy of Russia, so that we shall probably witness the co-operation of the two Powers in exacting guarantees for the Christians, and neither France nor Germany

nor Austria will be slow to adhere to the same policy. There has been no such vehemence in English public feeling on any question of foreign politics since 1815. The Servians and Montenegrins were clearly led by the feebleness of the Turkish defence in Herzegovina into underestimating the power of the empire; but the fact is that the difference between the Turk's real capacity when roused by a sense of pressing danger, and his apparent capacity in his ordinary sluggish mood, is something which Western races, with their steadier and more sustained energy, find it difficult to comprehend. But his strength in a conflict with a state like Servia lies in the splendid obedience of the Turkish troops, of which the raw lines of Servian yeomanry know nothing.

The Turkish Government, which has been very much annoyed by the reports of the European consuls and commissioners on the doings in Bulgaria, determined that they would do some "reporting" also, and accordingly sent down a commissioner-extraordinary in the person of Edib Effendi, whose narrative bears a funny resemblance to the minority report of a Congressional committee. The European observers, it must be remembered, are unanimous in declaring that about twelve thousand Bulgarian Christians—men, women, and children—had been massacred by the Turkish irregulars and regulars, about sixty villages burnt, and a large district laid waste, and that the slaughter was accompanied by shocking atrocities. Far different was the state of things discovered by Edib Effendi. What he reports is that a terrible conspiracy was prepared in the region around about Philippopolis for the massacre of all Mussulmans, male and female; that it was happily discovered before the day appointed, and this precipitated the outbreak, the massacres taking place as appointed, at Bazardzhik and in other localities, of all Mahometans, of all ages and both sexes, and with the customary torture and mutilation and arson; that a few unhappy Mussulmans took arms for their own defence, but were prevented from using them by the arrival of the troops. There were burnt, he says, in all twenty-eight villages, many of them, he admits, by the troops, owing to the furious obstinacy of the insurgents in defending them, but the attacks were not made until the defenders had been requested to remove the women and children and old men, which, however, they refused to do; but it made no great difference, for the imperial troops took the greatest care of all helpless persons, and especially of children. A few women were hit by random balls, but this was all; and, indeed, hardly anybody but Mussulmans were killed. About four hundred of these fell, but not over eighty Christians. At one place—Batak—there was a severe fight, in this way: The Mussulmans of the surrounding villages, hearing that the Christians of this large village had made all their arrangements to massacre them, armed themselves and marched thither in a body to see what it was all about; and, on reaching the village, to their astonishment were received with musket-shots. They then entreated the Bulgarians to abandon their evil designs, but in vain, and were then forced to attack them, and there was a desperate fight. The Bulgarians took refuge in a stone church and defended it fiercely, and the Mussulmans then set fire to wooden buildings around the church, and, the Bulgarians coming out, there was a terrible combat, but the Mussulmans took care of all the children and the widows, as in duty bound to do by the Mahometan law. He goes through various cases, and always tells the same story—wild and furious ferocity on the part of the Christians, unwilling resistance on the part of the Mussulmans, accompanied by tender care for the women and children. The losses in these fights on the Christian side he sets down as very trifling, and those on the Mussulman side as very heavy. To those who know anything of the antecedent relations of the Mussulman and Christian populations in European Turkey, the report of course reads like a burlesque, and this impression is deepened by the fuzzy grandiloquence of the style. The effect of it on European opinion has been simply exasperating.

THE NOMINATING CONVENTION IN ITS LAST STAGE.

THE result of the Democratic attempt at Saratoga to nominate a governor of New York is to be rejoiced over, if for no other reason, for the fact that it will, it is to be believed, set the public thinking more seriously than ever before upon the present mode of presenting the American people with candidates for high offices. We know, of course, all that can be said as to the moral and mental inferiority of the material of which Democratic Conventions are composed as compared with Republican Conventions. The Republican Conventions have the advantage, as a general rule, in character and intelligence, but the same causes are at work in both cases rendering the Convention an unfit instrument for the purpose for which it was intended. When the Convention system was first started, the country was comparatively small and the population comparatively homogeneous. The delegates, as a general rule, knew each other, or something about each other, and did not live very far apart, and were animated by very similar passions and ideas, and the work of management was comparatively easy. The control of the committees over the business was strong and well settled, and constituted a tolerable defence against any outrageous absurdity or failure. But as the country grows in size and population Conventions grow more and more unwieldy, and their course less and less easy to predict. The gallery, with its huge body of spectators, is becoming more and more of a power in the proceedings, and fills the building with a moral atmosphere of extreme inflammability. About the platforms the delegates care less and less, and, in fact, listen to them with some impatience. In the present Presidential campaign they have been absolutely, and, we may say, for the first time, superseded by the candidates' letters of acceptance. It is not what the Conventions have said that people are now discussing, but what Tilden and Hendricks and Hayes and Wheeler have said. But when the time comes for nominating in a convention, the delegates are thrown into a great nervous excitement, as recruits by the opening of a general action. No one knows what is going to happen, and no one knows with any certainty even for whom he will finally vote. The delegates know who the leading candidates are, but what their fellows think about them, what can be or is said for or against them, what influences are operating for or against them, they do not know. There has been no discussion of their claims except in the newspapers or in the streets and hotel parlors. There are "charges" afloat against them, but they have never been sifted; and there are rumors of charges ready to be produced in case they are nominated, but no one knows of what nature. There are managing men seen to be busily at work and in possession of important information and great power, but what they think or can or will do, the main body cannot tell. The grandiloquent nominating speeches, in which one candidate after another is presented as "the pillar of a nation's hope, the centre of a world's desire," are listened to by the crowd of trembling and excited men, as the above-mentioned recruits listen to the artillery fire at long range with which battles are so often opened; and then, when the balloting begins, it is as if the drums beat the charge. There is a rush forward into darkness, a casting of votes for the most part blind and tremulous, and an eager waiting for the unknown something which is to produce the crisis and decide the fortunes of the day. Anything less resembling deliberation it would be difficult to imagine.

The Democratic Convention at Saratoga differed from Republican Conventions only in having gone somewhat further in the direction in which all conventions are going, and in having succumbed very completely to dangers with which all conventions are menaced. There is no certainty in any of them that the body will not dissolve into a vast mass-meeting, swept by some tremendous wave of passion or overcome by some monstrous fraud or delusion. Anybody has it in his power, by reading a lying telegram or setting afloat an absurd story, to stampede it like a herd of Texas cattle. In a body small enough and carefully enough selected to nominate properly, the assertion that Seymour was willing to serve would have

been sifted and looked into, and either corroborated or refuted, before any action was taken on it. So also Mr. Dorsheimer's descent from Martin Luther would have been verified, and its full political bearing have been measured, before abandoning him. May be he is not a direct descendant at all, and belongs only to a collateral branch of the family.

It is to be regretted, too, and it will be more and more regretted every year, we may be sure, that the character of candidates cannot be regularly and thoroughly sifted by the nominating body, and that a nomination cannot be made to mean that one or two hundred reputable and well-known citizens have looked into A.'s or B.'s life and history and have heard what is to be said against him, and think him a fit and proper person to be President. What a nomination means at present is that a partially packed body, composed of many thousands of practically excited men, have by dint of yelling and vociferating, and by a sort of accident, designated C. or D., of whom they know little or nothing, as a person whom the party would do well to elect. The consequence is that the examination of the candidate's character, which, when the community was small and the lives of Presidential aspirants very conspicuous and transparent, was entirely unnecessary, is now begun *after* nomination, and in perhaps the least fit of all places—the columns of the party newspapers; and we have the spectacle of men's private affairs being overhauled in editorial articles, and thousands of people running about red in the face with indignation over "frauds" of which they have only imperfect information, and the facts of which they only half understand or have only half reached.*

That there ought to be some formal examination of a candidate's character *before* nomination—that is, that persons who have anything to allege against him ought to be heard by some competent body—there is no question. In a commercial society like ours, in which the ordinary course of politics furnishes no sifting process, in which everybody is engaged in transactions of greater or less complexity, and exposed to temptations of various degrees of strength, and in which no objection is felt to putting obscure men in high places, any man who aspires to the chief place in the Government ought to have his public and private reputation overhauled as a matter of course. We have the Democratic candidate for the Presidency at this moment undergoing such an examination by a process which is discreditable to American society. It is only by the merest accident that the Republicans did not furnish us with another. The Venetians, whose skill in the art of government has never been surpassed, and who were the first in modern Europe to substitute great traders for great landholders in high offices of state, felt the necessity of "charges" in the election of the Doge just as much as we do in the election of the President, but they arranged an effective mode of examining them. When the new mode of choosing the Doge was adopted in 1268 by the creation of an electoral college of forty-one members, by an elaborate process, partly lots and partly election, the electors were shut up until the choice was made, and balloted incessantly until some candidate obtained twenty-five votes. But as each name was taken from the ballot-box "charges" were called for and listened to in full, and if the candidate was one of the electors he had to retire into another room while they were being made, and on his return they were read to him, and he had to answer them. As the candidate had to be a member of the Grand Council—that is, one of four hundred and seventy principal persons—it was comparatively easy to examine his life and character, and, above all, to find out how he stood as a "wrecker," a defrauder of the revenue, or as a distributor of "bogus money." But the smaller the number of eligible persons, the less need was there for any examination at all. With our vast number of possible candidates and our growing practice of dropping down on the obscure man of whom nothing *has* been said, examination is doubly necessary; but it ought to be a sober and quiet examination by a small body of men commanding

* To save trouble to some correspondents, let us mention here that Blaine, Schenck, Belknap, and others were regularly investigated by a Congressional Committee. Tilden has not been. He has been tried simply by a party newspaper in the middle of the canvass.

public confidence. For instance, the *Times*' "Campaign Supplement" ought to have been laid before some such body *before* Tilden's nomination. If it be said that no such body would be competent to examine such charges, inasmuch as they would have no power to summon witnesses and compel them to testify, the answer is that it could make an examination sufficient for the purpose, and that, anyhow, it could examine them much better than the readers of a party newspaper, who form the tribunal to whom they are now submitted enveloped in a cloud of excited rhetoric. Fully nine-tenths of those who are convinced that Tilden committed fraud in the Terre Haute affair and perjury in the income-tax matter, and are furious with anybody who does not adopt their conclusions, know absolutely nothing about either the law or the facts except what they have got from angry articles in a hostile journal.

Considerations of this sort, powerful as they may seem to thinking men, will probably, however, not make so much impression as an argument in favor of a change in the mode of nominating as the way in which the nominating convention is being converted into an empty form by such operations as Butler is carrying on in Massachusetts. In the Seventh District of that State, he actually, by general admission, had secured the nomination a fortnight at least before the meeting of the Convention, simply by diligence in "fixing the primaries," so that when the Convention does meet the nomination will simply be an empty form. This is the last stage in the descent of the system into absolute absurdity. The first was when from a deliberative body it became a mere voting and shouting body; the second is when it ceases even to vote or shout, and merely confirms action already taken by small knots of obscure persons, meeting in small rooms, under the control of one of the candidates. And it will be observed that it is with this last stage that all professional politicians now occupy themselves. They no longer make arrangements to influence the Convention after it has met. They spend their strength on the manufacture of the Convention, so that when it meets it will not need to be influenced at all, and will confine itself to adopting conclusions already prepared for it. What we need is a small body of conspicuous men, to talk of candidates without excitement and hear what there is to be said against them, and to decide after full discussion, lasting as long as may be necessary, without the presence of an enormous and turbulent crowd. The election of such a body would be a process in which all men would take an interest—even the cold, cynical, "daily-bath man" who refuses to "mingle with the people," and persistently neglects his political duties and declines the offices to which his fellow-citizens are constantly desirous of electing him.

"INTIMIDATION" AT THE SOUTH.

WE print elsewhere two letters on this subject which have a good deal of bearing on the Southern question, both in this canvass and probably in many canvasses to come. The first is from a Northern man who has been long settled in the South, and whose interests and sympathies are naturally all on the side of good government. We have no doubt the explanation he gives of the peculiar turbulence of the States in which the blacks are in a majority is the true one, as far as it goes. But he might have added that, government being worse in those States than elsewhere, in some almost unbearably bad, the temper of the whites, as the bulk of the property-holders who pay the taxes, is constantly revolutionary, and they are only restrained, as we here in the North should be under like circumstances, from armed rebellion, by the fear of the overwhelming power of the United States. The case is without parallel in history. Always, hitherto, even under the Turks and Tartars, bad government has been carried on by those who possessed the physical force and the intelligence to use it with effect. In this instance, however, it is carried on by persons who would, if let alone, be incapable of retaining power for a day, and under leaders who are only remarkable for their vice and ignorance. Therefore, no misgovernment has

ever before been so irritating as well as exacting. People submit with sullen resignation to a ruler who can thrash them if they do not submit; but to have to submit to a government which we despise as well as hate, and which if left to itself we could overturn in half an hour—surely this is a new form of political misery. The nearest approach to a parallel for it that we can remember is the way in which the Pope and the small Italian princes were enabled to harass their subjects by the support of Austria. We take no account here of the bad character, real or alleged, of the Southern whites. The worst men on earth are entitled as a natural right, as the only indisputable natural right, to good government. The very convicts in jails are. No human being can sink so low as to justify us in handing him over to thieves or rascals to be tortured and despoiled. If every white Southerner deserved to be flogged once a week and fed on bread and water, the sentence should be pronounced by an upright judge and inflicted by a respectable jailer, and no frauds on the part of the baker should be allowed.

That we should have to recall these things in every canvass in which the Republican party finds itself at all hard pressed is very sad; and although there are many signs in this one that a more enlightened and nobler temper with regard to the South begins to prevail, yet when one sees Mr. Wheeler, the Republican nominee for the Vice-Presidency, who wrote the letter of acceptance that we all thought so wise and moderate, going up to Vermont and opening the canvass with a fierce and bitter denunciation of the Southerners, in which he described them as conquered enemies, feeling towards us as the Alsations feel towards the Prussians, and needing to be met at the polls in the same spirit in which they were met on the battle-field, one feels that there must still be a considerable change in the spirit of the ruling party at the North before we can have permanent pacification or real prosperity. The usual reply to all pleas of this kind is that all the South has to do in order to secure peace and unity is to adapt itself to the situation; that the North is ready to be good friends and forget the past, if the Southern whites will only respect the rights of the newly-made colored voters. But this answer is always made by those who, while acknowledging the magnitude and difficulty of the negro problem, have got rid of it as far as they are concerned by drafting and adopting two or three Constitutional Amendments, the operation of which never touches them in the least. We can recall nothing in history equal in complexity and peril as a social and political revolution to the sudden conversion of the Southern blacks into voters. It touches every portion of the social fabric, from foundation to apex. No such experiment has ever been made. It may have been well to make it, but it is not well for Northern orators and politicians, after having ordered it, to throw the whole burden and risk of it on the South, to refuse to contribute anything to its solution but "troops" and invective, and treat every manifestation of impatience and vexation or fury on the part of the unfortunate people whose liberty and property have been staked on the result, and whose social and moral and mental preparation for such an experiment was probably the worst in the world, as simple malignity. We do not know of a more devilish sight than Southern whites, with twenty centuries of Christian civilization behind them, tormenting, abusing, or killing the poor blacks of whom fate has made them fellow-citizens; but the one we should place next it in point of wicked absurdity is that of an orator up in Connecticut or Vermont, whose property and liberty, and the future of whose children, and the peace and order of whose home, are protected by the votes of men of his own race and creed and civilization, glibly telling Southerners fifteen hundred miles away how easy it is for them to live and prosper under the rule of the constitutions of Moses and Whipper. When you ask such a man, "What have *you* done to settle this great contention? wherein have you contributed to make the negroes good citizens, good neighbors, intelligent and far-sighted politicians?" all the reply you will get is that he voted for the Constitutional Amendments,

and votes the regular Republican ticket every year on his way to his business, just to show those fellows down there that they must adapt themselves to their situation. But that is not what the Prussians do with the Alsations, to adopt Mr. Wheeler's illustration. When they conquered them they did not hand them over to a pack of jail-birds and defaulters, at the head of a horde of the most ignorant peasantry in the world. They gave them the government of as good judges, assessors, and legislators as Western civilization provides. They gave them schools and colleges and libraries and roads, and they made life and property as secure as the force of a great empire ever makes them. They did not, in short, ask for order and obedience until they had given everything which any conquering government can give in return. What is the Republican party that it should take the airs and use the language of a conqueror towards the South, without performing one of a conqueror's duties?

It would be an inestimable blessing if this canvass produced something clearer and more definite and distinct with regard to the South than the vague declamations of the letters of acceptance and the rapid commonplaces of the stump-speakers. When these latter tell us, as several of them have done during the past week, that the Republican party, be its sins what they may, must be kept in power until voters of all colors are as free and independent in South Carolina or Mississippi as they are in Vermont or Maine—and we know that this sort of talk impresses the imagination of the voters, and furnishes a ready cover for endless rascality and a good excuse for every legislative or administrative shortcoming—we feel more than ever the importance of spreading at the North a distinct and rational conception of the possibilities, both near and remote, of such a society as that of the South. That men should think so little of the various agencies which have made the Vermont voter what he is as to call for a reproduction of him among the blacks in South Carolina within ten years of emancipation, and get angry and threaten "troops" if it cannot be supplied, shows an ignorance of the conditions of political freedom which is dangerous to the North itself. We ought to know by the experience of many ages and nations that giving a man the suffrage does but little towards giving him the power of using it independently. The history of the electoral franchise in every country shows that the use a man makes of it, when once the security of his person and of his property is provided for, depends on the degree of his education and his pecuniary condition. The English and Irish and Scotch farmers were "intimidated" by their landlords into voting with them as long as their tenure was insecure. The landlord could not beat or rob a voter, but he could direct him at the polls. The artisan in hard times is ready to vote with his employer, though he will not submit to abuse at his hands. The French peasant votes with the maire and the prefect. Wherever poor or dependent men have votes, and where the social conditions are unequal, there is that kind of subserviency in voting which we call "intimidation" at the South. Where there is a voting proletariat, the sale of votes in some form is almost a certainty, for we cannot expect men to place more value on their electoral freedom than on their daily bread. Nay, we have now ourselves for forty years recognized in our administration the duty of a man's voting with his employer. The sixty thousand office-holders of the United States have for the most part to vote the Administration ticket on pain of dismissal. The voters who groan and inveigh over the political subserviency of the negroes at the South know this; many of them are ardent and unblushing supporters of the very system which they find so abhorrent at the South.

For our part, we consider the state of things in which the negro votes with his employer, and thereby secures himself good-will, security, fair wages, and light taxes, or, in other words, most of the results of good government, though by no means an ideal or thoroughly healthy state of things, still a great step in advance and a gratifying result of the experiment. It is a state of things in which he obtains more or less political education, gets acquainted with the machinery of government, acquires the habit of acting with white men in politics, and the reputation among them of being of their party; and,

as long as his vote is not cast against popular education, he can, under his employer's advice, hardly, in the present condition of Southern society, make a bad use of it. Casting it against his employer, under the guidance of rascally adventurers, may seem to some people a sign of a growing spirit of independence; to us, it is simply a sign of social disorganization and political corruption. The real independence of the voter at the South will come, as elsewhere, slowly, through education, the acquisition of property, and the mutual respect which results from long-continued order, prosperity, and general intelligence. It is thus, and in no other way, through centuries of trial and endeavor, it has been brought about in New England, among the men of the race which has taught the art of government to the modern world. Why, in the name of all that is reasonable, should we expect it to come in any other way, or suddenly, among the Southern negroes? Have we really to put up with Conkling and Morton and Logan until newly emancipated slaves show the spirit which charged at Naseby and held the redoubt at Bunker Hill?

THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—XV.

THE VIENNA BAKERY.

PHILADELPHIA, September 2, 1876.

QUITE away in one corner of the Exhibition grounds there is a low, broad-roofed building, surrounded by an ample verandah, known as the Vienna Bakery. In its more conspicuous feature, this is simply an airy, cheerful, and well managed restaurant, where one gets coffee served in the Vienna fashion, where the ices and the chocolate are good, and where the prices are by no means low. The hidden purpose of this restaurant is not to make money by the sale of coffee and ices, but to tempt people to make the acquaintance of the best bread in the world, and even this is but an incident to the business of selling what is known as German Press-Yeast. That is to say, the proprietors are manufacturers of press-yeast (or compressed yeast), and are advertising their wares by attracting the public with the excellent appointments of a Viennese café, and showing the public what wonderfully good bread their yeast produces. It is to some extent an embarrassment in writing on the bread question, from this point of view, that one cannot quite escape the suspicion of advertising Messrs. Gaff & Fleischmann's goods.

However, the bread problem is undoubtedly, so far as the American people are concerned, the most important which we have to solve. Dyspepsia is our national curse. It is the source of the greatest sufferings and the greatest weaknesses of the American people, and it is pretty generally conceded that among the factors of our national disease none is so important and none so universal as the bad quality of our national bread. The excessive using of tobacco, of coffee, of tea, and of whiskey certainly has much to do with our enfeebled digestions, but all these together must sink into insignificance when compared with the vile character of what is known as bread in ninety-nine-hundredths of the households of our country—sour, heavy, sawdusty, innutritious, unpalatable stuff, which performs, of course, a certain useful office in nutrition, but which at the same time makes such serious demands upon the converting powers of the stomach as to leave the digestive apparatus of most of our people, even before attaining middle age, in such a wrecked and ruined condition as destroys much of the comfort and happiness and usefulness of their later years.

To understand the reason for the superiority of Vienna bread, it is necessary to consider some of the elementary conditions of all bread-making. Bread made from wheat is much better than bread made from any other grain, because the proportions and character of its constituent parts are better suited to the object sought. The chief of constituents are starch and gluten. Starch has the quality of absorbing moisture, and then, under the application of heat, of bursting its cells, thus losing entirely its granular character and forming a glue-like or horny substance, retaining its horny character under ordinary temperatures and in the presence of ordinary atmospheric moisture. Gluten—a quite different substance, belonging to the muscle-forming group as starch does to the fat-formers—has at ordinary temperatures a great affinity for water, which is expelled from it under the influence of heat, but which it readily absorbs again on becoming cool. Before cooking, starch is little affected by water, and so far as the starch of flour is concerned, it simply becomes wetted on the outside of its granules, without any change of condition which would give cohesion to these granules. Gluten, on the other hand, is extremely tenacious and elastic.

It has in itself, when wetted, the property of pastiness to a high degree. In a grain of wheat there is a small amount of gluten in intimate connection with the starch which occupies the centre of the grain, but the larger part exists in an outer coating lying immediately beneath the bran. From ordinary flours of the better quality most of this gluten, which adheres to the bran, is discarded, but there still remains a sufficient proportion for the purposes of the baker. On the mixture of water with flour the granules of starch become wetted on their outside, and the gluten absorbs a large amount of water, becoming a thin, tenacious paste. During the process of kneading, this paste is so intimately mixed with the starch as to convey to every particle of the mass a certain amount of tenacity or pastiness. Were this freshly-mixed dough subjected to a high heat it would constitute *chemically* nutritious bread, but it would have the serious drawback that, even when finely masticated, it would enter the stomach in solid pellets, of which only the exterior surfaces would be subjected to the digesting juices. The very old art of making porous bread has for its purpose the creation of a spongy or porous condition which will enable the gastric fluids to penetrate and attack the interior of the mass.

The quality of Vienna bread depends, of course, very largely upon the quality of the flour of which it is made—ordinarily produced by the careful "high-milling" process of Austria from the best wheat in the world—that of Hungary and Southern Russia. Prof. Horsford thinks that we shall never be able quite to equal the quality of the best Vienna bread, for the reason that we can hardly hope to grow a wheat quite equal to that of Hungary. The proprietor of the Vienna Bakery, on the other hand, assures me that the bread which he now makes from the "new-process" flour from Minnesota is as good as any in Germany. Practically, it is enough for us to know that it is very far superior to any other bread that has ever been made in America, and we may be quite content with the knowledge that bread of this good quality can be made from flour of our own production. In bread-making, it is hardly necessary to say that the quality of the flour has great influence, and while by improved processes we may greatly improve our bread, no improvement of the process will absolve us from the need of selecting our flour with care.

Aside from the influence of the wheat and the milling, the difference between Vienna bread and others is a difference in the process by which the porous condition of the mass is obtained—not the principle, for this is in nearly all cases the same. This principle is to create within the mass of the well-kneaded and pasty, tenacious dough a widespread production of carbonic acid, which, contained within its most intimate pores, causes a slight "rising" or increase of volume by its natural expansive force, and enlarges rapidly and considerably under the high temperature of the oven. Carbonic acid is a product of the fermentation of dough, and any mass of wheaten dough left to stand sufficiently long at a moderately warm temperature, undergoes a spontaneous fermentation, during the early stage of which there is an active production of carbonic acid within its interior. This production of gas is accompanied, except in its very earliest stages, by a souring, which at once attacks the gluten of the flour and seriously affects its value as food and as a chemical and structural constituent of the bread. In proportion to the extent to which the souring is carried does the injury increase. The fermentation of dough is much accelerated by the addition of a mass of dough which has already undergone fermentation and has accumulated the yeast-plant, which is an incentive to and an accompaniment of the process, but, at the same time, this fermented dough (or leaven) is sour, and it hastens the souring of the fresh dough. For centuries the only leaven used consisted of a portion of dough from the former baking, which, sour as it was, was added to the fresh making of bread. Indeed, over a very large part of the world this process, with some minor modifications, is still in general use, and it is customary to overcome the sour taste transmitted by the old leaven, and somewhat increased in the newly-fermented mass, by the use of carbonate of soda, which neutralizes the acid formed and sets free a certain amount of carbonic acid to increase the lightness of the mass. There have been and there still are many processes employed for producing carbonic acid without fermentation, and for increasing the influence of the fermentation just described. These are generally chemical devices for producing within the mass of dough a copious and active source of carbonic acid. For example, in the use of cream-of-tartar and carbonate of soda there arises, on their solution, an active internal effervescence which gives lightness to the bread, but because of the difficulty of securing an intimate admixture of the neutralizing elements this device is very apt to give a dash of cream-of-tartar here and of soda there, which is sadly detrimental to the result, whether considered from the point of view of looks or of digestibility. The use of sour milk and soda is subject to the same objection; so is the use of dilute

muric acid and soda—a combination which, hypothetically, may be made to produce the salt needed for flavoring the bread. The various baking powders are more or less effective in securing a quick rising, but the distribution of these chemical constituents throughout the flour, or their equal solution, or their action under heat, or their influence upon the starch or upon the gluten, seems not to be sufficiently well regulated for them ever to produce the best result. English bread is no better than our own, and, while French bread is very much better, it is still subject to the decided drawback that its infusion of carbonic acid is produced by a progressive fermentation which is accompanied with more or less formation of acid—enough with the earlier part of each day's product to affect quite seriously the color and character of the glutinous element of the product.

We have much for which to thank the Austrian inventors in the improvements they have introduced into the art of milling, but the turning point—that which enabled the production of a bread never before equalled—was the discovery in 1847, by Adolf Ignaz Mautner, of a process for securing a pure yeast, entirely unaccompanied by organic matter in a state of acetous fermentation—a yeast which, on being incorporated with dough, sets immediately about its process of growth, transferring certain elements of the mass into alcohol and carbonic acid, and producing enough of the latter for the best distension of the material *before any souring has set in*. Indeed, the cardinal fact about the new bread, the root from which its chief excellence springs, is simply this: that we have a process by which, without the use of chemicals, we may instantly set up throughout the whole mass of dough a natural, yeast-produced fermentation, which shall give the necessary spring of carbonic acid before acetous fermentation or any other degenerating process shall have affected the character of the flour. We get the stiffness of the glassy starch and the toughness and elasticity of the gluten in nearly undiminished force, and distend the whole mass with such an intimate infusion of carbonic acid that the crumb of our bread is entirely porous and cohesive, while the native flavor of the wheat remains fresh and unspoiled.

Press-yeast, as I understand it, is produced by the fermentation of an organic emulsion, which is permitted to proceed at the most favorable temperature until the whole mass is in a state of active yeast-growth. At this moment ice-water is introduced, reducing the temperature sufficiently to check the growth, and the yeast-cells, which permeate the emulsion in every part, rise in a fresh and active condition as froth. This froth is removed and repeatedly washed in clear cool water; the resulting mass is subjected to hydraulic pressure, and formed into the cakes of press-yeast which it is the office of the Vienna Bakery to introduce. It is estimated that one cubic inch of air-dried press-yeast contains over a thousand million yeast-plants. These organisms retain their vitality for almost an indefinite period if kept at a low temperature, as in a refrigerator; but if exposed to the high heat of summer they immediately begin to grow, and probably die for want of nutrition. Practically, the yeast must be freshly procured, or if a supply is to be kept on hand it must be kept at a low temperature—say below 50°.

The best known form of the Vienna bread is what is called the "Kaiser-Semmel," a little round loaf the size of a lady's fist. The form, of course, is immaterial, but a great advantage is claimed for the size, for the reason that the interior of the crumb (or white part of the bread) becomes thoroughly cooked before there is too great an induration of the crust. The crust undergoes decided transformations under the destructive distillation to which it is subject in a hot oven. An early effect of this distillation is to produce the agreeable aroma of freshly-baked bread, but if continued too long there are other substances produced less grateful to the smell, of bitter taste, and quite innutritious. When bread is baked in large loaves too much crust is formed before the interior of the crumb is properly cooked—cooking being the coagulation of the vegetable albumen, the drying of the gluten, and the production of the horny condition of the starch which gives rigidity to the cell-walls and maintains the porous condition of the bread. At a temperature at which a large loaf would require from one to three hours for its baking, the Kaiser-Semmel is baked in from ten to fifteen minutes. Some comment was originally made as to the stupidity of the proprietor of the Vienna Bakery in not providing butter with his bread. He shrugged his shoulders and did provide it, and no doubt his transient customers use it, but I very early found myself joining the throng of regular frequenters of the establishment who discard butter as an entirely useless addition to such bread as is here furnished, for the Kaiser-Semmel has that aromatic and grateful taste which needs no help from butter to make it entirely palatable and acceptable.

No consideration of the bread question, where the chemical element has been touched upon at all, would be complete without a consideration of the effect of "high-milling" upon the nutritiousness of the product. In this

respect my comments must remain incomplete, for the fair discussion of this feature would occupy far too much space. It is a noted fact that, in discarding the colored portions of the flour, and using only the white interior of the grain for our bread, we discard an amount of phosphoric acid and nitrogen which we should be vastly the better for using, but which no one does use, or practically no one who can afford the whiter product. Perhaps, after all, the phospho-nitrogen question is chiefly important to those whose diet is almost exclusively of bread. Those who consume the variety of food usual in this country probably get enough timber for their bones and muscles from the meat and milk and other food which form so large a part of their diet. Surely we shall lose nothing in this regard, as compared with our present food, by adopting the whitest of press-yeast bread; and if we can supply ourselves with such delicious and perfectly nutritious and digestible rolls and loaves as are made at the Vienna Bakery, our grateful stomachs will testify to our wisdom, and fill our veins with the blood of a new and more vigorous life.

G. E. W., JR.

BAYREUTH BEFORE THE FESTIVAL.

BAYREUTH, August 12, 1876.

THE time was when pageants of princes, wonderful fêtes, and dazzling spectacles, in an opera-house still splendid with Renaissance decoration, were not strange to the eyes of the Bayreuthers; and personages no less distinguished than Voltaire and Frederic the Great found delight in the entertainments given here at the court of Frederic's brother-in-law, and in the beautiful gardens of the Eremitage, the Bavarian Versailles. But the palaces have long since grown unaccustomed to the "sound of revelry by night," and the traditions of the people are memories of that same unbroken quiet which made Bayreuth the chosen home of Jean Paul Richter during the last twenty years of his life, and gave to the valleys of its neighboring mountains the charms of "a transplanted vale of Tempe." Such an event, therefore, as Wagner's "Bühnenfestspiel," with its attendant preparations and the gathering of strangers from great distances, could not but set the town in strange commotion. People and prices have undergone a simultaneous change. Under ordinary circumstances, the civility of mine host of the hotel, with possibly six new guests a day to provide for, would have expressed itself in a series of bowing, scraping, and gesticulating movements which long habit had taught him to perform with a dexterity suggestive of grace. But now his six guests are sixty; and the increase in the number to be received has necessitated such rapidity in the motions of polite reception, that they have become nothing less than a series of contortions painful to look upon. Other cases of deranged natures may be found in almost every house where one applies for rooms. The ordinary charge in the hotels for a single room is a mark* and a half per day. This price, it has been announced, will be raised from the 12th to the 30th instant to five marks. Accordingly, housekeepers make a similar and even higher charge, but with a timidity that is ludicrous. For no sooner is the demand made than a feeling of remorse apparently seizes them for being guilty of what, in the absence of all precedent, must appear as an extortion; and the chances are that, held in perplexity between the hope of becoming rich and the fear of being robbers, they will accept the first price offered, or will, at any rate, not permit the seeker for a room to get far away before finding a boy running after him to say that the room may be had for half what was asked for it.

This mental excitement and its consequent interference with the course of habit reached the first climax last Sunday, when all the peasant folk of the town appeared with shoes, stockings, and washed faces. The occasion was the arrival of King Ludwig II. of Bavaria. For days the people had been expectant, and soldiers—who serve here as scene-shifters in Wagner's theatre as well as gardeners in the public parks, and are decidedly the most useful implement that Germany has yet invented—might have been seen everywhere assisting in putting the city in proper order for the reception. Bayreuth has little of the quaintness of Nürnberg and of the old quarters of Frankfort, but it has enough of the mould of ages to make the contrast great between the dinginess of the houses and the gay decorations with which the town was bright on Sunday. Wreaths and flags and festoons of evergreen, caught up with white and blue, the colors of Bavaria, lined all its principal streets. Occasionally, in place of the long Bavarian streamers, one saw the red, white, and black flag of the Empire; while here and there, in some crooked, narrow street, almost filling up the little space between the opposite houses, hung the flag of the old German Confederation, as though the news of the events of the past six years were yet to come, or, if arrived, were yet to disclose their meaning to people who

had not awakened from the traditions of the past to the realities of the present. His Majesty was not here at the time expected, but chose to arrive at two o'clock in the morning. At that hour, even, he dreaded the possibility of being made the subject of a public reception, and left the train six miles from town, where he was met by Wagner and the Bürgermeister, and driven to his castle of the Eremitage. All day Sunday the town stood waiting for a glimpse of him, and toward five o'clock a good part of the twenty thousand inhabitants lined the road to the theatre and crowded about its entrances. For the king had come to Bayreuth, after an absence of nearly ten years, to attend the final rehearsals of the "Ring des Nibelungen," which could not now have been presented but for his munificent patronage in advancing the large sums that were necessary before returns from the sale of tickets could be obtained. The people, however, were disappointed; the king took a road that approached the theatre from the rear, and entered the princes' gallery without enduring prolonged shouts of loyalty and a reception by the city fathers. Ever anxious to avoid the popular stare, his Majesty is accustomed to have operas performed at Munich for his sole delight; and, hoping to meet his wishes, as the auditorium is in full sight of the princes' gallery, the Committee permitted not more than a few dozen people at the performance of "Rheingold" to be admitted to it, although two hundred were allowed to fill the gallery above. Finding, however, that the darkening of the theatre removed the conditions under which an audience became disagreeable to him, the King, at the subsequent performances, was glad to have the requests of the numerous applicants for admission granted.

To describe these last rehearsals would be to anticipate an event which Wagner justly demands shall be judged by itself and not by its preparations. What these preparations have been, what zeal has promoted them, with what marvellous supervision by the all-observing Wagner, and what unselfishness on the part of artists, gathered from all Germany, who have spent their summer vacation in work that is to bring them no pecuniary reward, and have set aside, in generous devotion to a national object, all local jealousies—nobody who has not watched the work from the beginning can realize. But the last two weeks have, nevertheless, been full of interest to a newcomer. A fortnight ago the present crowd of strangers had not yet gathered here; and the seats at the *tables-d'hôte* and in the beer-gardens were filled chiefly by the artists, by intimate friends of Wagner, and by musicians and leaders of orchestras from all parts of Germany. Indeed, the number of *Kapellmeisters* who seem to be necessarily drawn at this time to a focus in Bayreuth is something alarming. One trembles for the existence of German orchestras, with all their leaders away; and surely not many can be left at home. Until within a few days, every other man seemed to be a *Kapellmeister*. Each new train brought more *Kapellmeister*s; and to address any one at the *table-d'hôte* as "*Herr Kapellmeister!*" was to cause half-a-dozen heads to turn around at once. It reminded me of what has been described as the state of affairs in the reading-room of the Parker House, Boston. Somebody asked, "Professor, will you take a cigar?" when nineteen gentlemen arose and said, "Thank you, I don't care if I do."

Of course, the centre of interest for *Kapellmeister*s and for everybody else was the theatre, or, as Wagner calls it, *Bühnenfestspielhaus*. Prior to the 29th of July no more than a single act of any of the dramas had been rehearsed on any one day; but with that date began the rehearsals, on alternate days, of each of the four dramas entire, with scenery and costumes; and after that, on successive days, they were rehearsed for the last time in the presence, as I have said, of the King of Bavaria. Towards four o'clock on each day of a rehearsal, the streets began to be alive with people who had left their rooms or the gardens to which they had gone for a cup of coffee after the *table-d'hôte*, to take the road to the theatre. Its strange shape rises, about a mile from the principal street of the town, on the slope of one of the ranges of high hills which form an irregular amphitheatre, in the centre of which, divided by the Main, fresh from its neighboring source, lies Bayreuth. Close by the theatre are restaurants, on the balconies of which one has a chance to rest and to observe from without the building which one is about to enter. Its outer appearance discloses at once its inner utilities; but there is no attempt to make the useful a basis for the beautiful. In the long curve with which the whole front façade bends outward one recognizes the line which the thirty rows of seats in the amphitheatre follow within. And the abruptness with which the back part of the building rises forty feet higher than the front marks plainly the division between the auditorium and the stage, above which whole scenes disappear into a region that is also the home of the clouds of numerous thunder-storms. Before long one's observations from without are interrupted by the approach of a carriage, in which Herr Wagner, his wife, and her father, Franz Liszt, and perhaps

* A mark is equal to one English shilling.

Wagner's devoted friend at court, the Baroness von Schleinitz, attract attention; and shortly after, a horn, sounding the principal "motive" of the drama to be given, announces that the rehearsal is about to begin. Then everybody turns from his glass of beer, or from the musical score or the text he has been reading, to the doors of the theatre. It would be interesting to know how these dozens of people, the most intimate friends of Wagner as well as the most entire strangers, obtained admission; for until the last two rehearsals of the final series tickets were not distributed merely on the ground of one's holding a *Patronatschein* (a ticket to one or more of the actual performances), but as a special favor, upon application to Herr Wagner himself, or rather to Madame Wagner, who, among numerous executive duties, had this matter under her charge. An exceptional method of getting a ticket came within the experience of a friend of mine. He had made no application to Wagner, but went to the theatre on the afternoon of a rehearsal of "Siegfried," hoping to be able to find a ticket for sale; for all Bayreuthers who had provided lodgings at their own expense for one member of the orchestra were entitled to a gallery ticket for one series of rehearsals, and many of them are more mercenary than musical. But on this occasion no tickets were to be had; and after waiting till the end of the second act my friend started for home. Within a moment two Germans passed him, and he overheard the remark, "One must be a regular Wagnerite to be able to stand any more of that!" Here was the opportunity: my friend addressed the speaker, and said he should be very glad to buy his ticket. "Will you tell us where we can find the best beer in Bayreuth?" was the reply. "Yes, at Angermann's." "Well, then, you may have the ticket." And so the bargain was concluded. For an actual fact, this is not surpassed in interest by the naïveté of the young lady in Dresden who wrote to Wagner hoping that he would send her a ticket for all the performances, as she had never missed a single one of his operas.

Once within the theatre, the novelties of its construction are one's first surprise. The seats rise, row above row, to the princes' gallery. There are no boxes or seats of any description on the sides; but instead of leaving a bare expanse of wall, the architect has made use of an expedient which adds greatly to the scenic illusion of the stage. At equal intervals projections of wall are built out from the sides into the auditorium, and opposite the termination of each projection stands a column supporting a chandelier. But the distance of the extremity of each projection from the side wall increases as they approach the stage. Hence the form given to the rows of seats, taken all together, is that of a blunt wedge—the narrowest rows being next to the stage, the widest adjoining the princes' gallery. The optical effect of a view of the stage from the back of the theatre is consequently very much like that of looking into the mouth of a tunnel; and the illusion of distance in all objects seen upon the stage is greatly heightened. But undoubtedly the greatest novelty, as well as the greatest improvement, in the arrangement of the theatre is the position given to the orchestra. Sunk seventeen feet below the level of the stage, its movements are visible from no part of the house. A screen curving over the "mystic gulf" from the side nearest the audience conceals the musicians from those who, having seats in the first row, which is on a level with the stage, might otherwise peer down upon them; and another projection from the edge of the stage, on the opposite side of the "gulf," serves the double purpose of a sounding-board, and of a protection from the gaze of those in the gallery of that part of the orchestra which extends under the stage. Thus the attention of the audience is completely isolated from the distracting influences of the up-and-down motions of the violins and the gesticulations of the conductor; and when the curtain, divided in the middle, is pushed aside by the invisible hands, as it were, of an artist about to show us the picture he has finished, we feel that the illusion is complete, and that the aims of art require just that self-forgetfulness which the darkening of the auditorium during the performance aids in bringing about in the audience, through the subordination of everything to the ideal creations of the stage. But a musical result, quite equal in importance to the improved optical effect, is also produced by this novel position of the orchestra. In ordinary theatres and concert-halls one never hears an orchestra without feeling that there is a certain dissipation of musical energy. The sound is so widely diffused that we long for something that will bring it, so to speak, to a focus. This desire Wagner gratifies. The orchestra is no longer analyzed by the hearer, in spite of himself, into its component elements, but its sound sweeps along during the ever-changing flow of incident with the steady strength of an under-current. The difference is great. One can withstand the hits of a thousand pieces of iron, provided they be small enough; but there is no resisting them when cast into a cannon-ball. An account of the other agencies employed to effect a perfect representation must await my description of the dramas themselves.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRI IV.

PARIS, August 11, 1876.

M. DUSSIEUX, professor at the Military School of Saint-Cyr, is the author of a book which is very useful to the students of history. It is a 'Genealogy of the House of Bourbon from 1256 to 1871.' A new work of his has just appeared under the name of 'Intimate Letters of Henri IV.' No period of French history is more interesting than the end of the sixteenth century and the time of our religious wars, and this period culminates, as it were, in the glorious reign of Henri IV. These documents which concern such men as the last Valois, Marguerite of Navarre, Coligny, La Noue, Epemon, the Dukes of Guise, the first Cendés, Sully, Bouillon, and others, are among the most valuable of all times. They show us a society in a state of continual fermentation, torn by the noblest and the vilest passions. The ideal of monarchy which was personated by Louis XIV. was not yet perceived; there remained much in the French nobility of the old feudal views: the nobleman was bound by the *feudum*, but he only gave his allegiance conditionally; he assumed rights of his own; he discussed the limits of his loyalty. The Huguenots attempted to introduce into France "civil and religious liberty." Many of them were inclined to a form of government similar to the government of the Netherlands. France constantly wavered between the Netherlands and England on one side and the House of Spain on the other. The old dreams of conquests in the South, so long cherished by the French kings, were not abandoned by the Guises till the seventeenth century. The Protestants were the first to understand that France could not make any permanent conquest on the south of the Alps; they looked to the north. Coligny was the first to perceive that our national interests consisted in the conquest of better boundaries on the east and towards the Rhine; he felt drawn to the House of Orange, and intended to divide the Spanish Netherlands between the Stadtholders and France. It is the glory of Henri IV. to have well understood that the interests of France lay in this direction; and his famous "grand dessein," interrupted by the crime of Ravallac, was nothing but the settlement of this terrible question of our northern frontier, which to this very day has remained undecided.

Students of history enter into the minutest details which concern the strong men of the sixteenth century, but the popular imagination cannot embrace too many facts. It has concentrated itself around the original figure of Henri IV.; even to this day the "Bearnais," the man who conquered the Crown, is the most popular among our kings. The Government has published all the correspondence of Henri IV. This work embraces as many as eight quarto volumes, in which 7,000 letters are to be found. Its publication began under the ministry of M. Villemain. All the archives of France and of Europe were ransacked; but these big volumes will only be read by few people, and M. Dussieux has rendered us a great service by compacting in a single volume the most important parts of the correspondence.

The letters of Henri IV. have much interest not only from an historical but also from a literary point of view. They were written hastily, and show all the freedom of a time when everything, even grammar, was still unruly. Greatly as I admire the language of the Louis XIV. period—so noble, measured, tranquil, and disciplined—I find, perhaps, more vivid pleasures in the youthful and energetic language of Montaigne, of D'Aubigné, of Rognier. Henri IV. was not a great scholar; he was a pure *Gaulois*; he did not, like Ronsard, try to imitate the ancients; he did not borrow words from the Latin and Greek dictionaries; he spoke the language of the people, and was in this respect an unconscious predecessor of Molière. His sentences are short and curt, while many of his contemporaries liked long and endless periods. His words were often acts; he had not much time before him, and as a king he could afford to despise rhetoric. There is a curious difference between his rapid style and the style of Sully in the 'Economies Royales.' The warriors of the period, Henri IV., the Duc de Bouillon, Coligny, were the best writers.

The King always honored the men of science and the poets; he was in correspondence with Scaliger, with Casaubon, with Grotius, with Montaigne, with François de Sales; his relations were familiar with the poet Desportes, with Rognier, with Malherbe, with Bishop Bertaut, who never left him after his conversion to Catholicism. All his friends were men of great intellect—President Jeannin, Sully, Villeroi, De Plessis-Mornay, La Noue, Lesdiguières. He re-established the Collège de France, founded by Francis I.; he reformed the University of Paris. His wit was unbounded, and he enjoyed it much in others. His "bons mots" are of the best sort.

In the correspondence published by M. Dussieux, the letters of the King to his mistresses take a very large part. We cannot excuse the vices of the

"Bearnais," but we must remember that he was brought very young to the corrupt court of the Valois, that he was married to the famous Marguerite, who was the Messalina of her time, who never liked him, and who had so many lovers that the list would be almost as long as that of Leporello. What lessons could he receive from Catherine de Medicis, from Charles IX., from the Duc d'Anjou, who became Henri III., from the Duc d'Alençon, from D'Epemon, from Busy, from the Mignons? Read in the 'Tragiques' of D'Aubigné the description of the court where the King of Navarre spent his youth: the dreams of love consoled him for the constant humiliation he had to suffer, and for the permanent fear of assassination. It is true that this excuse cannot be found for him in the latter part of his life; his insane love for the Princess of Condé had certainly some little part in the "grand dessein." He could not live without a passion. He often incurred great dangers or forgot important duties to satisfy his desires. The "Belle Corisande," Countess of Guiche; Gabrielle d'Estrées, the Duchess of Beaufort; Entragues, the Marchioness of Verneuil; the Countess of Romorantin, are only the most famous among those who saw at their feet the greatest man of their time.

One of the characteristics of Henri IV. is his great sentiment of humanity in a time of ferocious passions, which produced such men as Montluc and the Baron des Adrets, which saw St. Bartholomew, when assassination seemed the natural revenge of hatred. "By patience and by straight walking I shall triumph over the children of this age" (May 4, 1586). He was patient. "Paris was not built in a day" (September 15, 1588). He could be merciful. He did not forgive Biron, but he pardoned Bouillon, though he had lost all confidence in him. He was essentially a patriot. "France is obliged to me, for I work hard for her." He was tolerant, and would be just even to the Jesuits; he made an edict which allowed them to come back to France; they had been expelled after the crime of Jean Châtel. The Parliament remonstrated. "I am much obliged," said he, "to you for the care you take of my person and of the state. . . . The University objects the Jesuits, as, since their departure, it is, as it were, deserted, and the students have gone abroad to find them. They draw to themselves the 'beaux esprits' and choose the best of them, for which I honor them. I wish that virtue should be everywhere the mark and distinction of men. They do what they can, and so have I done myself. It must be acknowledged that with their patience and good life they succeed in everything, and the great care which they take not to change anything in their first institution will make them last long." He goes on and defends them against the imputation of enticing fanatics to the murder of kings: "Don't reproach them with the League; they thought they were in the right, and were mistaken like many others, I believe with less malice than many others. They say that the King of Spain makes use of them, and so can I. I take them to be necessary to my state, and if they have been here by toleration they will now be here by right. They are born under me, and I will not mistrust my subjects. If you fear that they will give my secrets to the enemy, I will only let them know what I wish. Let me conduct this affair; I have had more difficult things on my hands."

There was, perhaps, too much imprudence in this confidence of Henri IV. in the great principle of tolerance; the King, remembering in what state he had found his kingdom and what extraordinary results toleration had produced, could well believe in it. He was better than his time: he succeeded in giving France a degree of prosperity which she had never known; the interest of money fell under his reign from ten to four per cent.

Most of the letters of M. Dussieux's volumes are letters addressed to Sully, to the Constable of Montmorency, to Madame de Gramont, to the Marquise de Verneuil, and to Gabrielle d'Estrées. It is somewhat to be regretted that the selection did not entirely exclude the King's mistresses; but even in the last letters there are constant allusions to the political events of the time. Everybody knows the letter addressed by Henri IV. to Crillon after the battle of Arques: "Hang yourself, brave Crillon; we fought at Arques, and you were not there." But this is a version invented by Voltaire. The original letter is thus worded: "Brave Crillon, hang yourself for not having been near me last Monday on the finest occasion which was ever seen or will ever be seen. Believe that I longed much for you. The Cardinal made us a furious visit, but he went away very piteously. I hope to be next Thursday at Amiens, where I shall not stay long, as I meditate something, for I have now one of the finest armies that can be imagined. There is nothing missed in it but the brave Crillon, who will always be welcome." I cannot resist the temptation of translating one among so many love-letters: it is addressed to Gabrielle d'Estrées (September 12, 1593):

"My handsome love: Two hours after the arrival of the bearer, you will see a knight who loves you much; they call him the King of France and Navarre, a title truly honorable, but a very heavy one: the name of your subject is much more delicious. All put together do very well, and I have resolved not to cede them to anybody. Enough talk, as I shall see you soon. Good morning, my all: I kiss your beautiful eyes a million times. This 12th September, from our delicious desert of Fontainebleau."

The collector, M. Dussieux, has added to the letters a certain number of the King's speeches. It is a pity he omitted the famous speech of Henri IV. to the notables of Rouen, but it is so well known that he perhaps thought there was no necessity of reproducing it.

Correspondence.

INTIMIDATION AT THE SOUTH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In No. 539 of the *Nation*, in "The Week," among other things, you say, in speaking of the Southern problem, "How is it that peace and order reign in the States in which the whites are in a majority? We ask this question in all seriousness; a candid answer to it would go to the root of the Southern trouble." The Southern problem is a question of the most momentous importance, and its solution is surrounded with the gravest difficulties, and it ought, certainly, to have the most candid discussion.

The reason of the peace and order in the States in which the whites are in a majority is twofold: firstly, the order and peace of an indirect general intimidation; secondly, the peace of self-interest, in this: "If you vote at all, vote the Democratic ticket, or I will discharge you," addressed by the white employer to the negro laborer, which is sternly carried out, and which, with the dependence of the colored man, means his sustenance. Just as long as the negro is deprived of his political rights or fails to exercise them he is very welcome to live, for he is the most tractable of laborers and order reigns. The campaign uproar breaks out, where the negroes have a decided majority, just before an important election, because it is *then* and *there* that intimidation is to some practical purpose. It does not break out in Georgia, because *there* the negro, as a general thing, does not vote unless it be the Democratic ticket; at least, enough are kept from the polls to ensure a constant Democratic majority.

I have endeavored to answer your question with all candor, as every citizen should when dealing with a question of solemn importance. But the "root of the Southern trouble" lies deeper. It lies in this, that the body politic is standing on its head. Dense ignorance of constituency, and, its constant concomitant in a republic, dense corruption and demagogism, are at the head of the state. This was brought about by universal suffrage, and the ballot in the hands of the negro seemed absolutely necessary in reconstruction to prevent him from serfdom, as witness the "black laws" of this State of 1865.

For information as to the purpose as a plan, and the process of this intimidation, please read in the *Nets and Courier*, of Charleston, S. C., of the 16th and 17th inst., the account of the Republican meeting at Edgefield C.H. in one number, and the editorial on "The Bane and the Antidote" in the other.

INFORMED.

BEAUFORT, S. C., Aug. 17, 1876.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: What is intimidation? I remember, not so very long ago, that, as the workmen at one of the largest factories in this city were leaving the shops on election day, a ticket was placed in each man's hand, with an intimidation that unless he voted that ticket he would be discharged. I remember a poor man, a widower with a number of small children, whom it was attempted to have discharged from earning \$1 50 a night as door-keeper of the Academy of Music, because he had on the previous day voted contrary to the opinions of the Board of Directors of that establishment. I remember that a leading firm of real-estate agents were forced by the Union League of this city to discharge their standing counsel, a lawyer of position, since a candidate for the judiciary, on account of his political opinions. I know that a large manufacturer, trying to obtain a Government contract, was obliged to abandon his attorney, who had been his adviser and friend for years, in order that he might be a competitor. Were all of these actions improper? If I am an idiotic manufacturer, who believes that a protective duty is not only of great public importance, but vital to my own peculiar business—that without it I shall be ruined—is it wrong of me not to employ a man who I believe will help to bring about that ruin? Where is the line to be drawn? In the law of trades-unions

you may not strike a man, you may not "picket" him, but you, and all your fellows, may refuse to work in the same shop with him, which, of course, is tantamount to driving him into the union or starving.

If the Southern whites believe that the Republican party is their enemy; that if allowed to rule it will deprive them of their possessions, their happiness, and some of their lives, what acts may they do in order to guard these which may not in the indefinite and inexact language of Messrs. Merton and Boutwell be called "intimidation" and "ostracism"? Is it intimidation for the citizens of Louisiana and South Carolina to refuse to employ men who will vote for those who have by taxation confiscated their estates, and who establish a judiciary for injustice? If the Mississippian refuses to admit to social intercourse the man who is in favor of what he thinks is his ruin, how does he differ from or where greater is the ostracism than the trades-union?

Putting aside all acts of physical violence, which on all hands are admitted to be wrong, it seems to me that before penalties and pains are to be inflicted for or popular opinion invoked against ostracism and intimidation, we ought to have it settled first what ostracism and intimidation are, where they may and where they may not be practised.

J. S.

PHILADELPHIA, August 22, 1876.

MR. BLISS'S REPLY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You seem anxious for a "change of base" in your attacks upon me, and therefore propound certain questions. I will try and answer them, though your language is in some respects so indefinite that it will be difficult to be very precise in the answers, while some of your questions are, to say the least, such as no man has any right to ask either privately or publicly.

1. "Who recommended you for your present office?"

I do not now remember all or many of them. I made no general canvass for recommendations. I applied, I think, to only half-a-dozen persons. There were two or three lawyers of standing who wrote letters in my behalf, including at least one judge whose ability you would not question. One gentleman of high standing at the bar spoke to the President without my instigation. Several citizens, laymen, either wrote or spoke to him. I think Governor Morgan and Jackson S. Schultz were among these. I have always believed, however, that my appointment was due in considerable measure to the President himself. I have no disposition to conceal the fact that Senator Conkling favored my appointment. I am not ashamed of his course, his character, or his friendship, and believe him at once far abler and far purer than those who attack him and set themselves up as his judges. On the other hand, I do not believe that either he, nor any of the other persons who favored my appointment, are unwilling to have their action judged by its results. Nor have I any doubt that my activity in politics had much to do with my appointment. I believe that an active interest in public affairs is and should be a recommendation to public office, just as I think inattention to them should be a disqualification.

2. You ask me if I "honestly and sincerely believe" that it was my standing at the bar which led to my appointment. Until you put this question, I did not suppose you thought I could "honestly or sincerely" believe anything. I do not believe it was alone my standing at the bar which led to my appointment, nor do I believe that their standing at the bar alone led to the appointment of many or indeed any of my recent predecessors. I believe my standing was as good as that of several of them, and that politics influenced their appointment as well as mine.

3. This question, too, is largely answered above. I think you overrate at once my skill and activity and my experience in controlling or "fixing" primaries, caucuses, or conventions. My political work has been largely done in other directions. I never "fixed" a primary, if by that phrase you mean the preventing the fair expression of the opinions of all who took or were entitled to take part in it. I have attended primary elections, and propose to continue to do so. If you and those like you attended more, you would know more about them and would probably grow less. You might perhaps improve them. You would certainly have a better right to criticise them. Since I have had any influence in such matters, I have attended no primary at which there was even an accusation of unfair dealing. In the district in which I reside, which is the only one in which I ever attended a primary, I have procured the adoption of a practice which does away with all secret or close caucuses. Every member of the association is invited to every caucus, and can make himself heard. No Republican has, to my knowledge, ever been refused admission to the association. From the indefiniteness of your word "fixing," I can only meet it by repeating that neither in primary,

caucuses, nor convention have I ever been concerned in anything which prevented, or was intended to prevent, the fair expression of the views and wishes of all. I have usually had my own candidates and my own opinions, and have urged the one and expressed the other freely. Sometimes I have succeeded and sometimes I have been beaten. When overruled, I have concluded I was wrong, for, not being the editor of a weekly reform newspaper, I have never claimed omniscience. I may add I do not believe that Republican caucuses or primaries or conventions in this city are often "fixed," if by that you mean the prevention of the fair expression of opinion.

4. "How much time have you given, on a fair average, during the past four years, to political 'work,' and how much money have you personally contributed to the funds of the party or for political purposes?"

As to work, I can't say; I have done a great deal, and hope to do a good deal more. If your enquiry is meant to insinuate that I have neglected my official duties, then, at the expense of a charge of boasting, I meet the insinuation squarely by asserting that I have given to those duties more hours and days in every year than any of my predecessors for many years; that I have disposed of more business than any of them; that I have done more towards clearing the calendars than any of them; that I have disposed of business more promptly than any of them; and that I have disposed of it—to say the least—quite as successfully as any of them. My statements are capable of easy proof. If you doubt them, I refer you to Judges Blatchford, Shipman, Benedict, and Wallace; to the records of the courts, or to the files of the Departments at Washington.

As to funds, I don't know what I have spent for political purposes within four years. I have always paid according to my means, and have given little if anything more since I have been in office than before. To organized committees I have probably given a thousand dollars a year for several years, and if able shall continue to do so, though I don't know as it is any of your business, any more than it is my business to enquire how much house-rent you pay, or whether you ever stole a newspaper.

5. To give my ideas of appointment and tenure in the civil service, as you request, would take a good deal of time and space. I don't believe honest or efficient officers are to be got by examinations directed as to their knowledge of grammar or geography. The first man examined under the recent civil-service rules in this city—a man who stood far above all his competitors—wears a convict's uniform in Albany Penitentiary, whither I sent him for corruption in office. Nor do I believe you can have that civil service which seems to be your theoretical one until you change the Constitution so as to be able to control by law the appointment of officers. So long as the President has the constitutional right to appoint whom he chooses, and so long as Presidents are human, any theory of civil-service reform which begins at the other end, and seeks only to prevent the removal of office-holders unless they can be shown to be dishonest or incapable, will be a halting one. I believe that it would be an improvement if an efficient and honest officer could not be removed except for misconduct in office. But though it is easy to lay down such a theoretical rule, the difficulty is that, under a system governed by it, you are in danger of getting office-holders who have just enough of efficiency or honesty to prevent any defined charges on which they can be removed, and yet whom it would be an improvement to any service to get rid of. Any one who knows the English service knows that this is so. You seem to suppose that under our present mode of appointment no office-holder can have independence. To disprove this, it is not necessary to go further back than the Convention at Saratoga. Mr. Cornell was asserted to be, and I believe was, the favorite candidate of Mr. Conkling. Every one of the prominent Federal office-holders in this city felt under deep personal and political obligations to the last-named gentleman, and yet nearly all of them were against the candidacy of Mr. Cornell at this time, and so acted, and I don't believe Mr. Conkling or any one else cherishes any hard feelings against them.

6. You ask me to compare my influence in the party in this city with that of others. I can say, without much modesty, that in my opinion several persons have more weight than I, and that I am probably as frequently overruled as almost any one. I am apt to state my views frankly—too frankly for my own popularity or influence—I urge them as strongly as I can. If they are adopted, I am glad. If I am overruled, I acquiesce. Right here permit me to say, that I believe that nearly or quite all of good government we have had in this city in the last half-dozen years has been obtained either through the gentlemen with whom I am accustomed to act, or with their hearty concurrence. I do not believe you can remember a time when, by the general concurrence of all, the Federal offices—Collectorship, Post-office, Revenue offices (excepting, of course, the District-Attorney's)—have been filled more honestly, efficiently, or acceptably than now. As for our municipal officers, consider who are regarded as among

the ablest and best. Are they not in the judiciary Davis, Barrett, Brady, Van Vorst, Sedgwick, Sanford, Hackett, Gildersleeve? Yet you owe every one of them to the earnest support of the much-maligned "machine." So of the District-Attorney, Mr. Phelps. Among the aldermen and the civil justices, those who are regarded as the best—indeed, almost the only ones who are regarded as unexceptionable—were elected by or with the active concurrence of the Republicans. The same is true of the non-elective officers whose appointments have been made from the Republican party, such as Mr. Wales, of the Dock Department; Bailey, of Charities and Corrections; Andrews, of Taxes and Assessments; Wheeler and Erhardt, of the Police Department. Indeed, there does not occur to me any person as being in office whom even your critical eye would detect as being inefficient or corrupt who owes his place to the support of the local Republican leaders. On the other hand, if you find an incompetent or dishonest man in office, I believe, as a rule, you will find the Republicans opposed him. Whatever may have been the motives of the controllers of the "machine," selfish or otherwise, they have given the people good officers wherever they have had the power. There may have been exceptions, but they do not occur to me. The greatest failures among those whom they supported have been the "reformers"—men who were not from their ranks.

You ask me, Can any one else "fix a primary" as well as I can? If they cannot, then "fix'ng" is very different business from what I suppose you mean. If you want examples of my superiors in this respect, I would name Ellwood E. Thorne and many of his associates—for they need neither voters nor voting-places—and various "reformers," including one or more reputed contributors to the *Nation*. My experience in the matter of primaries has, I have already pointed out, been more limited than you have apparently supposed.

Thus far I have sought to answer your questions, and claim the fulfilment of your promise with reference thereto. I am moved, however, to add one or two things which are suggested by some things you have said from time to time, but which I have no right to ask you to admit to your columns unless they commend themselves to you.

Your obedient servant,

GEORGE BLISS.

[The remainder of Mr. Bliss's letter relates to the organization of the Republican party in this city, and is also interesting reading, but for reasons of space we shall hold it over until next week. He will not consider it a breach of our promise if we point out to him in our own defence against his charge of impertinence, and in as few words as possible, that the contributions of officeholders to campaign funds have acquired by custom the nature of a tax (he may call it voluntary if he pleases), and therefore operate in practice as a deduction from their salaries. Their amount, therefore, in the case of any officeholder, is a legitimate subject of enquiry by any voter. Gen. Barlow, indeed, when United States Marshal, was assessed not only on his official salary, but on his supposed illicit profits.—ED. NATION.]

MR. BLISS AND THE EXTRADITION DIFFICULTY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the letter of Mr. Bliss to the *Nation* of August 31, he asserts substantially that it was never intended in this country to arraign Lawrence for any other crime but that of forgery, and he never was arraigned for any other; but because it was proposed to arraign him on a charge of forgery which was not formally proven before the English magistrate, although it was alleged before him, Lawrence's counsel took the ground that he could not be tried. "This statement," says the *Springfield Republican*, whose language I copy, as clearly putting Mr. Bliss's view of the matter, "we must say, entirely changes the aspect of the Lawrence case, and cuts the ground completely from under the argument of Mr. Wells and Beach Lawrence, who have charged that it was the intent of District-Attorney Bliss to put Lawrence on trial, not for forgery, but for smuggling, which is not an extradition crime."

Certainly, if this statement is correct it does put an entirely different aspect on the Lawrence case, and goes far to substantiate the charges which Mr. Bliss makes against me in his letter of "errors, falsehoods, and insinuations." But is it correct? That it is not seems to me to be demonstrated from the following evidence: *First*, The letter of Attorney-General Pierpont, of December, 1875, cannot be made to bear any other interpretation than that the writer believed it was the intention of Mr. Bliss to arraign and try Lawrence for offences other than that for which he was

extradited, and that, in fact, steps had been already taken by the District-Attorney of New York to that effect. *Second*, That Mr. Bliss did commence proceedings against Lawrence for offences other than that for which he was extradited, is proved by the following extract from the opinion of the Solicitor-General of July 16, 1875, Ex. Document No. 173, p. 58, which says:

"Immediately on his arrival in New York the petitioner (Lawrence) was arrested under bench-warrants issued out of the Circuit Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York upon charges of other forgeries, of conspiracy, etc., that had been committed before his extradition; and since such arrest a capias in a civil action, sued out of the same court for unpaid duties owing to the United States, has been served upon him. Copies of the above-mentioned warrants, etc., are appended to the petition, the civil capias being in assumpsit for \$1,386,400 on account of unpaid duties."

Again, in the despatch of Lord Derby of June 30, 1876, the British Foreign Minister makes the following statement:

"Her Majesty's Government desire to point out that it was with reference to the case of Lawrence that this question at issue between the two Governments arose. Lawrence was surrendered to the Government of the United States on a charge of forgery. *He was indicted in the United States on a charge of smuggling, which is not one of the extradition offences.* Mr. Fish, in his despatch of the 24th of May, states that this indictment for smuggling was found against Lawrence before the demand for his extradition. This may be so, but Lawrence was arrested and held to bail on this indictment for smuggling after his extradition. These proceedings on this indictment for smuggling, taken after extradition, made the case, in substance, the same as if he had been indicted for smuggling after extradition."

I submit, in view of these citations from official documents, that if Mr. Bliss's statement is correct—i.e., that Lawrence was never arraigned or intended to be arraigned, in this country on any charge other than forgery—the officials on both sides of the water who have been discussing this extradition question clearly don't understand the subject they have been so long writing about; and if I have been led into errors, falsehoods, and insinuations on this point, it has been because the official documents laid before the British and American public have never rightfully presented the facts in the case.

I am, yours respectfully,

DAVID A. WELLS.

Sept. 2, 1876.

THE TERRE HAUTE "FRAUD."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The influence of the *Nation* depends chiefly upon the general confidence which has been felt in its truthfulness and impartiality. It is of the utmost consequence that there be at least one paper in the country which can discuss politics and politicians with the sole view of arriving at the truth and of administering praise or condemnation from a high moral standpoint. Having determined to support Hayes and Wheeler, it is natural that you should seek not to be unjust to the other side, and this purpose is most praiseworthy. It seems to me that this desire to be impartial has carried you of late too far, and has led you to justify or excuse acts in Democratic politicians which would have met with severe condemnation if done by Republicans.

A conspicuous instance of this is found in your article in this week's paper upon Mr. Tilden's connection with the Terre Haute, Alton, and St. Louis Railroad. The article indicates that you think Mr. Tilden not to blame for anything he has done in connection with this road. But the facts, as you state them, lead me to a contrary conclusion. The substance of your statement is that Mr. Tilden and his associates, as the agents of the bondholders, purchased the road under a foreclosure sale, and then sold it to a reorganized company, and received from it new securities, which they were to hand over to the old bondholders. The amount of the new securities was proportioned to the old bonds, and every old bondholder was entitled to his proportion. After the delivery of the new securities to all the bondholders who called for them, a considerable amount was left, which Mr. Tilden and his associates divided among themselves, and, with the exception of one member, now claim to hold as their individual property. The present company has brought suit to require this purchasing committee to account for the undistributed securities.

Now, I can easily see that it may be a doubtful legal and moral question whether the new company has any right to these undistributed securities, and if Mr. Tilden and his associates had confined themselves to disputing the right of complainants, I should have said nothing. But they claim to own these securities, and the claim seems to me not merely baseless but dishonest. They base their claim on the ground that they have incurred liabilities and rendered services for which they will not otherwise have an adequate reward. But when they undertook the work they must have had some agreement, express or implied, as to the amount

of their compensation, and no doubt they have received this. They certainly could not have expected to receive their pay from the securities which were uncalled for, for they could not have expected that the bondholders would not all appear. In receiving these securities, then, they are getting just so much more for their services than the agreement under which they acted contemplated. They are claiming property which was never intended to be theirs.

Now, I do not say that Mr. Tilden in this is guilty of a State-prison offence—possibly he has done no worse than many a sharp operator in railroads has done before. But when a man is a candidate for the high office of President of the United States, and claims that, if elected, he will reform the corruption which all good men so much deplore, we may well ask whether his conduct has heretofore been that of a high-minded, honorable man—whether the undue love of money which has been the temptation under which so many of our public men have fallen has not in him led to unjustifiable practices. And it seems to me that no desire to seem impartial towards the candidate whom the *Nation* opposes should lead it to excuse or pass without condemnation the claim which Mr. Tilden makes in the suit referred to. The question seems to me simple: Does Mr. Tilden own a share of these securities? If so, on what can his claim be based? If he does not own them, then how can we characterize his claim to own them, except to say that it is dishonest and unworthy of an honorable man?

C. A. KENT.

DETROIT, August 26, 1876.

[We are making no efforts to be particularly impartial towards Mr. Tilden or anybody else. We are simply trying to tell the truth, as it appears to us, about various events of the day. In a Presidential canvass a great many good people lose sight of the obligation of truth-telling, and begin to consider what the immediate consequence of truth-telling will be, and get into a queer, inflamed state of mind, in which their mental and moral vision is distorted and their sense of proportion lost. If Mr. Tilden were not a Presidential candidate, we do not believe there would ever have been five minutes' discussion about this *Terre Haute* affair, and the notion that it was a stupendous fraud would have been treated as ridiculous. So, also, if Mr. Blaine had not been a Presidential candidate, there never would have been two opinions among reputable men about the propriety of a Speaker's purposely helping a railroad lobby by his rulings, and then calling the attention of the head lobbyist to what he had done, with a view to future remembrance. Our advice to every one who feels excited about the *Terre Haute* "fraud" and other campaign frauds or errors, is to sit down to consider them soberly, after having, by whatever process of discipline he finds most effective, banished from his mind his interest in the canvass and his conclusions as to the consequences which would flow from the election of either candidate. The first duty of every man to his country is not to elect either Tilden or Hayes, but to be veracious and candid and honest. We have said all we have to say about the *Terre Haute* matter. The old creditors of the railroad, we repeat, have not claimed the securities appropriated by the Purchasing Committee, although every opportunity has been given them to do so. When they do, and we hear what they have to say, and what Tilden says in reply, we shall take the subject up again. The dispute now pending between Tilden and the new company is pre-eminently a *legal* dispute, and fitter far to be passed on by the courts than by stump-orators and newspapers. Mr. Kent's statement of the case is full of errors, but we have no space to spare for their correction. To show what a fog of absurdity "the campaign" has thrown about the matter, we need only point to the fact that the *New York Times* has likened Mr. Tilden's position to that of the embezzling cashier of a private firm. But we have no hope of the return of rationality before the second week in November.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

MCPHERSON'S 'Handbook of Politics for 1876' (Washington: Solomons & Chapman) is hardly inferior to any of its predecessors in value for all who make a study of our republican development. We need only instance, among its varied contents, the text of the "Wheeler adjustment";

the text and history of the Supplementary Civil Rights Act, and the judicial action upon it; the legislation in regard to Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina; the Resumption Act; the impeachment proceedings in Belknap's case; the digest of Wisconsin railroad legislation now in force, etc., etc. Material for the Presidential campaign is also furnished in the accounts of the Democratic and Republican National Conventions, and the candidates' letters of acceptance.—The 'Centennial Portfolio' published by Thomas Hunter, Philadelphia, contains fifty views of buildings at the Exhibition fairly lithographed in two colors, with statistical and descriptive text. We have been abundantly repaid for the time spent in turning over its pages by comparing the wonderful architecture of the various State buildings, and by the editor's laudable attempts to name the "style" of each.—G. P. Putnam's Sons issue immediately, as the third volume of Prof. J. M. Hart's series of German Classics, 'Selections from Goethe's Prose'; 'The Elements of Psychology' and 'The Science of Ethics,' by Prof. Henry N. Day; and 'Outlines of the History of Philosophy,' by Prof. J. J. Elmendorf.—Harper & Bros. will reprint Mr. H. R. Fox Bourne's 'Life of John Locke.'—Mr. S. B. Ruggles is engaged upon a 'History of Gold and Silver in Civilized Countries,' coming down to July 4, 1876.—The second volume of the new series, the fiftieth in all, of the 'Almanach des Spectacles' (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles; New York: F. W. Christern, 1876, pp. iii.-155), has at last been printed at the presses of M. Jouast with the same daintiness and delicacy of typographical execution as the first volume, which we noticed a year ago (No. 533). The volume for 1875 is as carefully edited as that for 1874; the scope of the work is unchanged, only the results of the contests at the Conservatory are added and the bibliographical list for the year is made fuller. The prefixed etching by M. Léon Gaucherel is a striking full-length portrait of Mlle. Sarah Bernhardt, the Sociétaire of the Comédie Française elected during the year.—The second instalment of Carl Wolff's 'Historischer Atlas' (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer; New York: L. W. Schmidt) contains seven maps, one of which, No. 17, Germany 1815-1866, covers the same period as Spruner's No. 49, and is a good example of the difference between these two atlases both in scope and in cartographical execution. No. 18, Central Europe after the revival of the German Empire, 1871, takes in the region from Belgrade to Madrid and from Rome to Copenhagen, and will be found very useful for everyday reference.—The *Novelle* to the German penal code is given textually in Band II, Heft 1, of Part III. of 'Die Gesetzgebung des deutschen Reiches' (New York: E. Steiger), with a complete alphabetical index of subjects. Band I, Heft 5, deals with the penal provisions in sundry laws and ordinances relating to navigation and commerce.

—From the Boston Public Library we have received the new catalogue of its Roxbury branch (distinguished from the first edition by being liberally equipped with bibliographical notes as a guide to readers, in what we may now fortunately call the fashion), together with its own twenty-fourth annual report. During the year ending April 30, 1876, nearly a million volumes were called for by the patrons of the central library and its branches, or 25 per cent. more than the year previous, while the greatest delivery of volumes on any one day (8,035) showed an increase of 32 per cent. in the same time. What is most gratifying is that the branches do not in the least diminish the circulation of the central library. The registered number of persons privileged to take out books is nearly 100,000 in a city of 312,000 inhabitants; and the Superintendent estimates that three-fourths of them avail themselves of their privilege, yet with only the loss last year of 100 volumes (one in ten thousand circulated). Also noteworthy is the steady increase of the library by gifts, in which way, apart from the product of trust-funds, more than a third of all its volumes have been acquired since its foundation. The catalogue work of the year, of the more serious kind, has been the printing of the Ticknor Catalogue, which is approaching the letter D, and the cataloguing of the Barton Collection, which has been carried through a third of the Shaksperiana. Scholars will be interested to know, too, that along with its own newspaper catalogue, the library has made a record of the invaluable files in the libraries of the Boston Athenæum and the Massachusetts Historical Society. The account of the autographic mode of preparing cards for the catalogue deserves the attention of all librarians.

—Harper's *Monthly* for September offers very little that calls for comment excepting the penultimate instalment of "Daniel Deronda," and we are so near the end of the story that further criticism had better be deferred. In *Lippincott's* we found ourselves turning first to the little tale by Pushkin, called in the translation "The Queen of Spades." It has the genuine Russian tinge of tragedy, and, while it does not suggest that eminence which Pushkin enjoys in another field of the imagination, it is not

without both ingenuity and a certain kind of power. The second paper on George Sand is noticeable chiefly for the interpretation given by a correspondent of the writer to the great novelist's last words, "Laissez la verdure." It has hitherto been rendered, poetically and probably, "Per only a sod above me." But here we read: "She asked that the grass might not be trodden on. They could not at first make out what she meant; they did afterwards. She evidently alluded to the grass over her mother's grave, beside which she wished to be buried." Mr. Wilson's third paper on the "Eastern Shore" apparently does not exhaust the subject, and is unexpectedly interesting. We are still asked to regard it as the land of plenty, but from another side, that of fruit production, large and small. Of the peach we are told:

"For a distance of ten miles by at least two in width the banks of the Upper Chester form a continuation of orchards, one of which alone, known as the 'Round Top,' contains over one thousand acres. This little river is navigable for not quite thirty miles, yet in 1875 it required seven steamers and more than twice that number of sailing craft to carry its peaches to market, and that notwithstanding the facilities offered to the same country by two lines of railroad. These boats carried at least ten thousand bushels of peaches a day, the railroad carrying from three to ten car-loads daily."

Further on we hear of one small town in Somerset County shipping as many as six car-loads of strawberries daily. The canning and drying of fruit is a great and growing enterprise; but the account given of the peach-parers had better be passed over by the fastidious. It appears that there is a not insignificant lumber interest on the peninsula, where the existence of a tulip-tree ten feet in diameter is recorded; and even a fur trade. Finally, the sportsman has abundant game of limited variety, including, strange to say, the "dove," a bird which Mr. Wilson says is found breeding in New York and Massachusetts, though he has never met a Northern man familiar with it.

—Apropos of what we have been saying of late as to the immorality of the silver movement, M. Michel Chevalier, in an interesting article in the last number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on the "Depreciation of Silver," remarks, we hope without having the *Chicago Tribune* or Cincinnati *Commercial* in his mind:

"To speak honestly: to continue by any process, or by giving permission to any one, that coinage of the silver pieces called five francs since the metal has fallen so much in value, is to subject our money to a serious debasement, which, though not criminal as that practised by counterfeiters, is, in its effects many points of resemblance to it. This is not a flattering comparison; but in the one case as in the other a piece of metal is given to the public which professes to be worth more than it really is. Certainly it would be unjust to confound the two acts in the same condemnation. The counterfeit knows that he is in revolt against the law; the private person who gets the mint to convert silver ingots into five-franc pieces does not violate the law. He profits by the fact that by a change in circumstances some of the provisions of the law of the year XI. [the French coinage act] have become defective, and that the Government has failed to go on with the work of reform, though it was its duty to do so. But society is injured in both cases, and the injury is in the one as in the other proportionate to the difference between the effective value of the money uttered and the false value which the counterfeiter attributes to it, or the legal value which it draws from a worn-out but un repealed legislation."

In another place he says:

"Strictly speaking, the individual is only exercising his rights when he uses the liberty which the law allows him, and which, by a piece of regrettable forgetfulness, has been allowed to stand when it ought properly to have been barred by the facts which ought to supply the rule; but the case of a state profiting by a state of things which it was its duty to reform is worse than that of an individual who follows a path which ought to have been closed, but which the carelessness or indolence of the Government has left open. The state cannot pretend that it does not know that the practice in which it is indulging is injurious to society, since this is the very reason why it has forbidden private persons to resort to it. The excuse of the gain to the treasury is not admissible either. A state can only seek profit through means which are plainly moral and of public utility."

This is very hard on the *Chicago Tribune*, which has been for some time urging our Government to resort to this very swindle, and is at the same time greatly excited over Tilden's *Terre Haute* "frauds."

—Professor Mommsen, with more zeal and courage perhaps than entire fairness or discretion, has set himself to righting some of the abuses of the German universities. His attack was first directed against the *promotio in absentia*, the principal cause of the prostitution of the once honored and valuable title of Doctor. So far as Mommsen's charge is true, that "the German Doctor has become a by-word in England," the humiliating fact is due to this utterly indefensible abuse. Nothing can be said in extenuation of the scandal except that, at some universities, the professors have in a great degree been dependent upon the fees for their bread and butter. This ought not to have been passed over

in silence. Professor Mommsen knows that many an ordinary professor in Jena and elsewhere receives such a pitiful salary that it is simply impossible to subsist on it, and even a German professor and his children must eat. Still, though it is clear that the blame does not rest wholly with the universities, the *promotio in absentia* ought to be abolished absolutely and for ever, no matter how much some professors may be in need of the fees. If they cannot live without them, and if the Government does not provide for them in some other way, they will have to give up their professorships. We shall then see, on a larger scale, what has already for some time given rise to bitter reflections. In several branches of learning the chairs of the first universities are occupied by young and comparatively untried men, because there is an alarming lack of competition, for the simple reason that at least one-half of the professorships are so underpaid that it becomes a *sine qua non* for whoever aspires to the academical career to have means of his own. It is pretty safe to assert that the *promotio in absentia* will become a mere historical reminiscence long before any serious attempt is made to remedy this other evil.

—Mommsen's second point is that some universities have entirely dispensed with a dissertation, while others have made the examination so easy that only a semi-barbarian could fail to pass it. If the title of Doctor is really to signify what the word means, a dissertation seems to be as indispensable as an examination. No one should be honored with this title who does not prove himself able to add a mite to the intellectual capital of the civilized world, and this proof no examination can furnish. Whether the printing and publication of the dissertation should be made an absolute condition appears to be quite a different question. Prof. Mommsen insists upon it, though he himself enumerates a number of weighty reasons against it: some of the best students are so poor that they cannot afford the expense of the publication; others are so unfortunate as to hit upon a theme which proves to be a barren or thoroughly-explored field; only an inconsiderable minority of these youths, fresh from their benches, can write anything deserving to be printed, though their treatises may show that some time they will be able to do it, etc., etc. All this Prof. Mommsen admits, but, nevertheless, he thinks "the secret Doctor" fully as bad and as damaging to the reputation of the German universities as the Doctor *in absentia*, because no public control is possible unless the dissertations are published. There is, undoubtedly, a good deal of truth in this, and it is likely that the printing of the dissertations will soon be made obligatory by all the universities. But, after all, the best and only efficient safeguard against abuses will always be the conscientiousness, the honor, and the pride of the faculties. If the great historian's colleagues at the universities which do not make the publication of the dissertations imperative, were such a depraved set as he makes them out to be, none of the measures proposed by him would prevent the worst "collusions." Finally, it seems doubtful whether he will succeed in his endeavors to cause all the universities to adopt uniform rules for promotion. His secret wish seems to be that all should simply conform to the usages of the principal Prussian universities. This, we apprehend, will never be done. It would, in fact, be absurd for (say) little Freiburg to exact the same fees from the peasant's son from the Black Forest as the gentlemen in Berlin can, and perhaps ought, to exact from their students. Already, too, the question has been asked whether this bold attempt at radical reform will not be the beginning of the end—i.e., whether it will not soon be time to drop this relic of the Middle Ages entirely. Every Doctor can prove by his diploma that the *jura et privilegia* of the Doctorship have been conferred upon him, but the learned man would be very much embarrassed by the question what these rights and privileges are. The Doctor's title has, in the course of the centuries, lost nearly all its substance, and it can never again acquire much substance in Germany, since "state examinations" alone qualify for the state (public) service. It is not quite improbable that Mommsen's grandchildren will only know Doctors of medicine and the "Doctor *honoris causa*," bestowed upon men of unusual scholarship and merit.

—The musical critic of the *Perseveranza*, Signor Filippi, whose name is justly held in high esteem wherever known, having to pass through Munich on his way to Bayreuth, was fortunate enough to hear Wagner's American Inauguration March played at a monster concert. Unfriendly writers had stigmatized it as a failure on the strength of its having been indifferently received at a rather low public resort in Vienna. Our Italian, however, found it worthy in all respects of the composer, and infinitely more clear and comprehensible than the overture to the "Meistersinger" or to "Tristan and Isolde," or even than the Imperial Coronation March—

in which last comparison critics here are, we believe, in entire accord with Signor Filippi. It elicited the heartiest applause from the audience at the Munich Colosseum.

CHARLES SPRAGUE*

MR. CHARLES J. SPRAGUE has done a good work in giving to the world this elegant edition of his father's works. It was due to him and to American literature that the present generation of readers should be reminded of the excellent poet who gave pleasure to their fathers and grandfathers, and whose voice has been too nearly lost amid the throng

"Of louder minstrels in these latter days"

Mr. Sprague was almost if not quite the first writer of verse who had any title to the name of a poet in this country, when he first became known to the public. It was in the summer after Mr. Sprague's first prize address that Mr. Bryant received his earliest public recognition through the delivery of his beautiful poem of 'The Ages' before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge. Longfellow and Willis, Holmes and Lowell, were school-boys. Emerson was still an undergraduate at Harvard. The Muse had not yet won Whittier from the plough and his father's farm. Mr. Sprague was the harbinger of a happier age. The field of American poetry into which he entered was not without many laborers, but the harvest was small indeed, if not entirely chaff. The epic thunders of Joel Barlow had rolled away into the silence of oblivion. Dr. Dwight had recited in heroic measure the tale of 'The Conquest of Canaan' to ears that refused to hear, although Cowper wrote a civil notice of it for the *London Monthly Review*. Colonel Humphreys sought in vain to wreath his sword with myrtle and his brow with laurel; they withered at the touch of the steel and the lead. He had to rest his lyric fame on his good service as the aide of Washington, and his pastoral renown on his introduction of merino sheep from the hills of Spain to the pastures of America when he returned from his mission to Madrid. 'McFingal' deserves more of memory than posterity has vouchsafed to it, if it were only for the quotations in all men's mouths which with one consent they give to Hudibras—to Butler, and not to Trumbull—and which are worthy of their imputed parentage. Philip Freneau, perhaps, had more of the true poetic touch than any of his age. At least, two poets not less famous than Scott and Campbell paid him the compliment of adopting some of his lines as their own.

Mr. Sprague—we almost dread to speak the word—was "a self-made man." So many men, so styled, have "made themselves" so abominably that it is clear that they are not even Nature's journeymen at the trade, but merely 'prentices, and very poor ones into the bargain, who have spoiled good stock, which might have been worked up into excellent ploughmen or artisans, by trying to make it into ministers, lawyers, and Congressmen. Mr. Sprague was none of these. He was a master of the craft, and he made himself into a thoroughly well-educated man within the limits to which he confined his mental cultivation. He had not even had what the newspapers ridiculously call "an academic education"—meaning a year or two at a country academy—a solecism for which we fear the excellent Major Poore of the *Congressional Register* is accountable, in his zeal to make it seem as if some of his Congressmen knew something. Mr. Sprague resembled Shakspeare in the particular of his "little Latin and less Greek"; but he had drunk deeply of the "well of English undefiled," and few men were more familiarly acquainted with the great authors who had slacked their thirst at that living fountain. With the whole body of English literature, from Chaucer downwards, he was "familiar as his garter," and his taste for poetry and his models for the mechanism of his verse were drawn from the elder masters—elder, we mean, than those who have flourished in the nineteenth century. Consequently, his poetry is as pellucid as the "well undefiled" itself from which it was drawn. We must admit, though we know what a disparagement the admission must appear to famous poets and their admirers of our time—we must admit that everything Mr. Sprague wrote was level to the meanest capacity, and thoroughly intelligible by the common people. Cowper, indeed, tells a young friend trembling on the brink of Hippocrene and applying to him for advice, that "clearness is half the battle." But then Cowper is no authority, and no critic of a high order nowadays would allow him to be a poet at all. But Mr. Sprague was old-fashioned enough to think with Cowper, and to try and compel his muse to speak in the vernacular, so as to be understood without an interpreter. We do not defend him. All we assert for him is that he did what he undertook to do.

All the time Mr. Sprague was engaged in making himself, he was also

* 'The Poetical and Prose Writings of Charles Sprague. New Edition. With Portrait and Biographical Sketch.' Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1876.

engaged in active business, at first in trade and latterly, for nearly fifty years, in Boston banks—first as teller and afterwards as cashier. Literature was the recreation of his hours of leisure, and was never allowed to interrupt the hours given to the interests of others. He was eminently a "man of two lives," each as distinct from the other as if they were lived in different bodies; and those who knew him in the one capacity would hardly recognize him in the other. And so he might have lived and died unknown, had it not been for an occasion which gave him a chance to be heard. In those days the custom of prologues, or opening addresses, had not gone out of fashion in the theatrical world. In 1821, the Park Theatre—dear old temple, long since vanished, the sock and buskin having given way to boots and shoes—the managers of the Park Theatre offered a prize for the best prologue to be delivered on the opening night of the season. Mr. Sprague joined the throng of competitors, and the prize was adjudged to him by a committee of literary judges ignorant of the personality of the writers until the award was made up. The merit of this performance made its author widely known throughout the country, which was not then too large to consider such an occurrence an event of general interest. The next year Mr. Sprague carried off the prize for a like address at the opening of the Walnut-Street Theatre, in Philadelphia; and he won two or three other laurels of the same nature subsequently. These poems are not inferior to the average of those of the same order which exercised the wits of Johnson and Garrick and Goldsmith and other famous men of the last century. They have all the best characteristics of occasional poems of the sort. The verse is harmonious, vigorous, thoughtful, with a proper seasoning of the satirical. In these days of greater things and broader excitements, it is not easy to realize how strong was the interest felt fifty years ago in these literary contests, and how generous and general was the admiration of the victor.

In 1823, the managers of the Boston Theatre proposed a competition for the best ode to be delivered at a pageant they projected in honor of Shakspeare. Mr. Sprague was again successful, and his Shakspeare Ode raised his reputation among his contemporaries to a very high point, and we think that it will commend itself to the appreciation of our more critical time. The lyric fire, the graceful transitions, the lively fancy, the felicitous turns of thought and phrase, the flow of harmonious verse in varying measure, make up a poem of a high order, which should secure for itself a place in our anthology. It is excellent for recitation, and most men whose lives stretch back so far can yet roll forth recounding stanzas still ringing in their memories. The longest and most finished of Sprague's poems is the one entitled "Curiosity," delivered before the Society of Phi Beta Kappa at Cambridge in 1829. It is a graceful and vigorous production in heroic verse, fanciful yet full of thought, satirical yet tender, according as "curiosity" rises to the mysteries of science or sinks to pander to gossip and corrupt tastes. It is a poem that will always be read with pleasure by those whose mental taste has not been vitiated by the gross and sensational school of verse. Sprague is better known to the generations that have grown up since he ceased to sing by his lesser poems, which will always find their way to pure minds and gentle hearts, especially when they have been tried by suffering or wrung by bereavement. "The Winged Worshippers," "I see Thee still," "The Family Meeting," "Lines to M. S. C.," will never lose their hold upon the human heart as long as it is swayed by "the charities of father, son, and brother."

It would be, of course, absurd to claim for Sprague a place by the side of the great singers of the world or of the English language. The moderation of his own claims was shown by his ceasing to write when he was only forty years old, and while he had yet more than forty years to live. Poetry was not the business, but the solace, of his life, and he was contented with a modest share of the rewards of genius. That he had the gift of poetic genius we think few readers of his poems will deny. His is not machine-made verse. His thoughts come glowing from his heart and mind, and they find fit words in which to clothe themselves. And this is what we understand to be meant by the "Vision and the Faculty Divine." Though Sprague may not deserve to rank with the great poets of the English language, we think that he merits a high place among the minor poets of our literature.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Edgwick (A.), Greek Prose Composition.....	(Livingtons)
Sprague (Prof. H. B.), Milton's Mask of Comas, swd.....	(J. W. Schermerhorn & Co.)
Trade-List Annual, 1876.....	(J. L. Lippincott & Co.)
Yecquay (J. W. J.), A German Accidence.....	(Livingtons)
Westcott (T.), Centennial Portfolio.....	(Thomas Hunter)
Wilkinson (J. J. G.), Human Science and Divine Revelation.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Whitney (S. W.), Elements of English Grammar.....	(J. W. Schermerhorn & Co.)
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